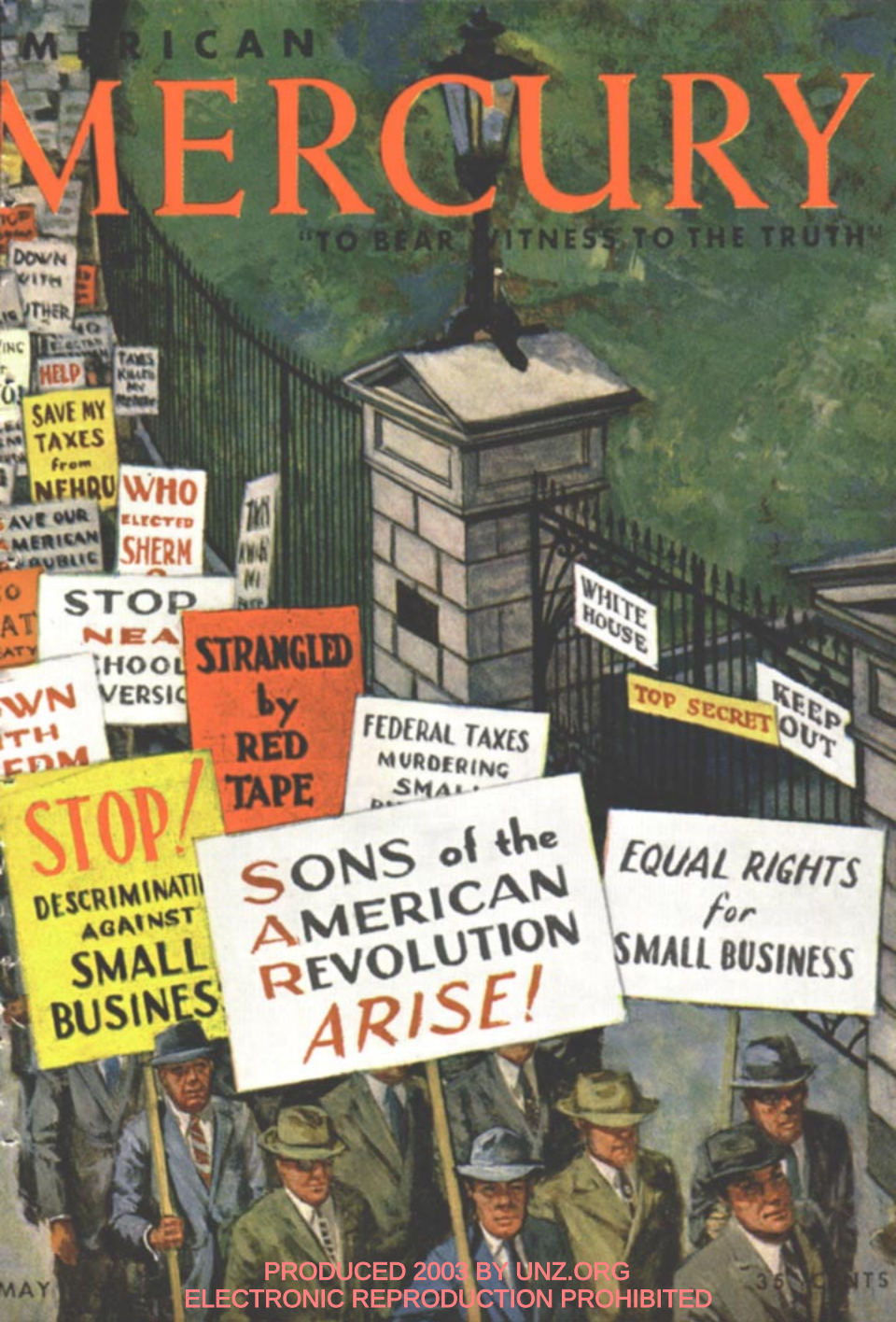

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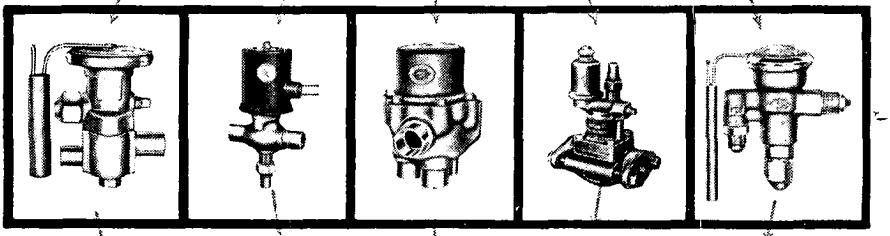

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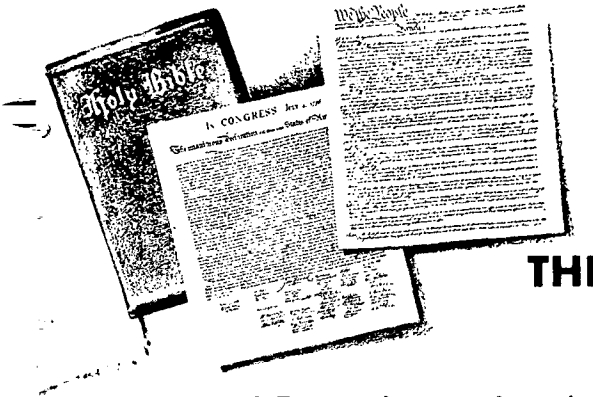

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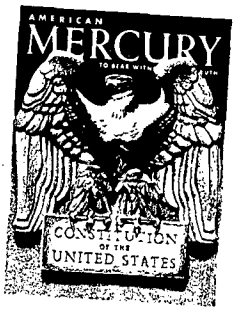

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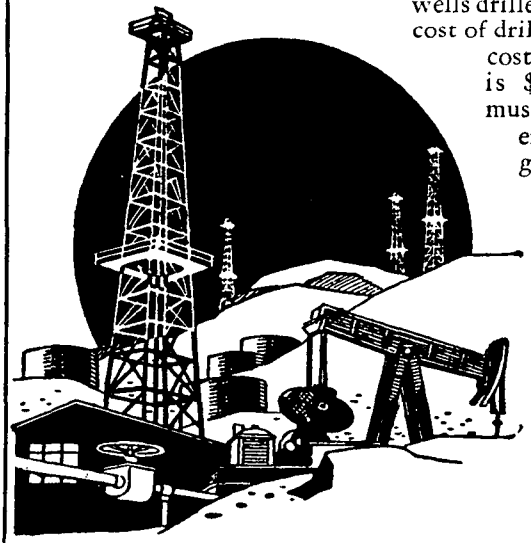
We are thankful to be a producer of oil and gas which provide more than half the total U.S. energy today. The oil and gas industry, because of our competitive enterprise system, has been able to discover large reserves of oil and gas, thereby being a big contributor in improving the standards of living in this great country of ours.

This has been done even though, out of every 9 wildcat wells, 8 are dry holes. One out of every 44 wildcat wells finds new oil reserves equivalent to national demand for about 4 hours. And *one* out of 991 has enough new oil to match *more* than a week's consumption. One-fourth of all productive wells drilled never return the cost of drilling. The average cost of a wildcat well is $123,000. There must be incentives to encourage these great risks.



It is important to every American citizen that any threats to the oil and gas industry which would endanger the security and defense of our country be disposed of. Presently, this can be done by:

1. Demanding that rights given to the States by our Constitution be returned to them.
2. Insisting that excessive oil imports be limited to 15 days per month, being the same basis as domestic oil producers are permitted.
3. Continuing depletion allowance.

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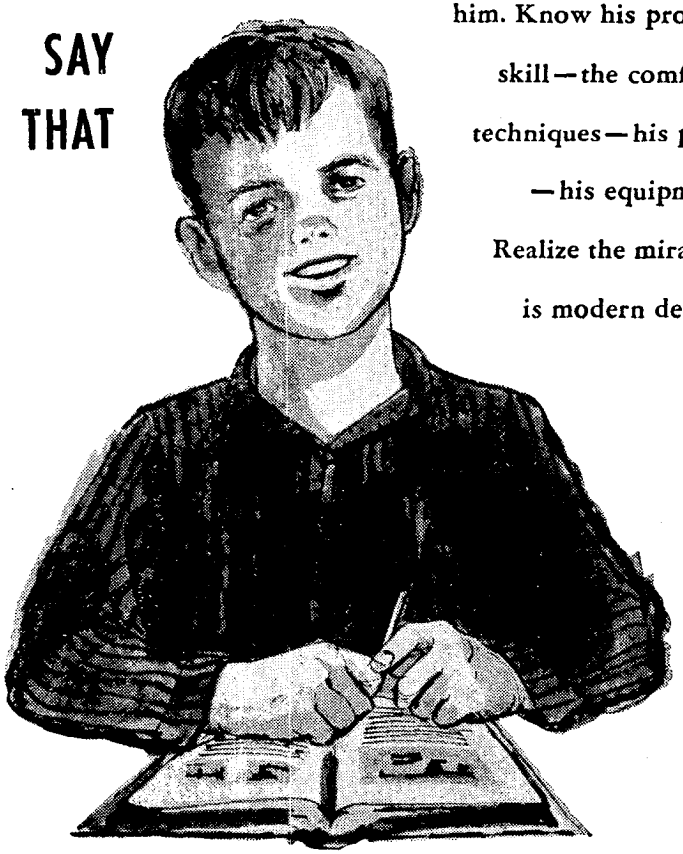

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AMERICAN MERCURY
34TH YEAR MAY 1958

PUSHING THE UNITED STATES INTO INTERNATIONALISM

By Harold Lord Varney

IF American-minded men and women don't bestir themselves this year, they may wake up to find that they have voted away—in 1956—the right to control their own foreign trade policies. Affiliation of the United States with the Organization for Trade Cooperation, which President Eisenhower has asked Congress to vote, would transfer authority over American tariff policies *to an international body*, in which we are hopelessly outnumbered. It would give foreigners a dangerous leverage over our economic life.

This will be President Eisenhower's *second* attempt to pressure Congress into abdicating its tariff authority. The first was in 1956. With administration threats and cajoleries working in high gear, the House Ways and Means Committee favorably reported out a bill to join OTC. The bill never emerged from the Rules Committee for a vote.

Undiscouraged, the White House is trying again. Pressures are being built up behind the 85th Congress to vote *for* OTC. The fight ahead is certain to be bitter.

The irony of the situation is that the administration with its championing of OTC and its negotiating body, GATT, is asking Congress to pass an unconstitutional act. Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution of the United States gives to Congress, not the

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President, the sole authority to regulate the nation's foreign commerce. The OTC-GATT proposal would transfer, by legislative rubber-stamp, this authority to a foreign-controlled body.

The unconstitutionality of the OTC-GATT set-up was attested by the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association on August 25, 1955: "Neither the President, nor Congress has the legal authority under the Constitution, to delegate the regulation of our commerce with foreign nations to a foreign-controlled group."

Why the Eisenhower administration is moving heaven and earth to put through this OTC surrender has puzzled many earnest observers. The only logical explanation is that OTC-GATT affiliation is another *quid-pro-quo* which this internationalist-minded administration is offering our so-called "allies" to *bribe* them into support of America's addled foreign policies. As OTC advocates have frankly pointed out, OTC-GATT is the reverse side of the foreign aid binge, under which we have already siphoned out $60 billion of American money to buy foreign friendship. While the foreign aid program gives the foreigner—and his politicians—a golden stream of American dollars, the OTC-GATT program proposes to turn over to him the *American home market*, at the expense of American industry and labor. It appears to be a part of the whole pattern of befuddled internationalism which the United States under Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower, has been pursuing dismally for the last two decades. How did we get into our present dilemma?

To simplify a story which is full of complications and technicalities: we took our first step away from an America-directed tariff policy in 1934, when, in response to Roosevelt pressure, Congress enacted the so-called *Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act*. In effect, this Act transferred from Congress to the President the authority to negotiate tariff rates and changes. The Act has been renewed by vote of

IN GATT

Luxembourg has One Vote	The United States has One Vote
Luxembourg's Population is 380,000	Our Population is 173,000,000

—From *The United States in World Trade*

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Congress at intervals ever since. On January 30th of this year, President Eisenhower asked for its extension for *another five year period,* with authority to reduce rates up to five percent each year, or a total reduction of 25 percent for the entire five year period.

As a result of the operations of the *Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act,* the United States has been gradually transformed from a protectionist to a free trade country. Average tariff rates, during the 22 years between 1934 and 1956, have been reduced by over 70 percent. Out of 3,337 dutiable items listed in the Tariff Act of 1930. 2,532 were reduced between 1934 and January 1, 1953: 148 others were bound against duty increases by treaty, and only 657 remained unaffected.

Meanwhile, Great Britain, largely in whose interest we had embarked on this self-defeating policy, actually *increased* its tariff averages during the same years. While we were opening our domestic markets to the goods of our "allies," they were cynically closing their markets to us.

It was during the confused war years, that a group of American One-Worlders decided that this hitherto Washington-administered "reciprocal" policy should be put under the clutch of an international body, in which the United States would cast only one vote. Washington then was living under the pink haze of the United Nations enthusiasm and anything which moved us in the direction of a super World Government commanded top support in the administration.

In 1944, there was set up an "Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy," appointed by President Roosevelt. This "Committee" developed, after the end of the war, into the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

Some extremely queer characters emerged in Washington to par-

British Token Imports

Great Britain allows only "token" imports of American products imported freely before 1939. In a recent year this resulted in imports of:

1. *Appliances:* One dishwasher, 35 electric ranges, 25 deep freezes, 19 washers and dryers, and 194 refrigerators from one American company.
2. *Automobiles:* 650 American automobiles—taken against our imports of 63,380 British cars for the first 10 months of 1957.

—From *The United States in World Trade*

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ticipate in these post-war tariff plannings. Among them were Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, V. Frank Coe, Harold Glasser, Lauchlin Currie and Victor Perlo. All six of these men were later named before Congressional Committees as members of the Communist apparatus in Washington.

Out of the deliberations of the "Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy," with White, Coe and Glasser as members, came the plan to set up two post-war organizations: (1) the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, better known as GATT, and (2) an International Trade Organization (ITO) with power to *enforce* the GATT decisions. It is interesting to recall that the whole program which President Eisenhower and his internationalist advisers are plugging so insistently today was born in the mind of Harry Dexter White, accused Communist spy ring member.

UP TO this time, all these negotiations had been carried on as a White House undertaking, without any consultation of Congress.

In 1947, the Department of State, then headed by General Marshall, went a step further and joining with the other UN powers at a conference in Geneva proceeded to implement the White plan. Out of this meeting came GATT, and ITO. *To avoid submitting GATT to Congress,* a protocol of "provisional application of GATT" was signed by the director of the State Department's Office of International Trade. President Truman then announced American "acceptance" of the protocol and agreement upon the initial proposed tariff changes.

In 1948, at the Havana conference, ITO was unwrapped, as an arm of the United Nations. The question of American affiliation to ITO was not submitted to Congress until 1949. Upon closer examination, ITO was found to be raddled with socialistic schemes. After hearings were held in 1950, the volume of patriotic opposition appeared to be so great that the sponsors dropped the proposal. Since the whole object of ITO was to lure the United States into the bear trap, this refusal to affiliate doomed the project. ITO was allowed quietly to die.

But this did not mean that the internationalists had given up. GATT still survived. Through Presidential action, the United States is one of the 37 members of GATT, casting only one vote on tariff decisions against the 36 votes of the other members. In effect this means that tiny Luxembourg, with 380,000 inhabitants casts the same vote in GATT as huge United States.

During the ten years of GATT's existence, five major tariff negotiations have been conducted under

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its auspices. As the American Tariff League has pointed out: "The general trend has been toward fewer concessions granted at each succeeding conference. Because of our overshadowing position in world trade, the pace appears to be in large part determined by the degree to which the United States is willing to reduce its tariffs. One obvious reason is that this country seemingly is the only member operating under parliamentary limits on the extent to which reductions can be made."

On balance, the record of GATT in furthering any real "reciprocity" has been disappointing. Due to embargoes, quotas, currency licensing, state purchasing and other discriminatory practices on the part of other nations, GATT has proved useless to the United States as a stimulant of world trade.

Thus, while the United States dropped its ratio of tariff duties to total imports from 15.8 to 5.4, in the years from 1937 to 1955, Great Britain has actually *increased* its ratio from 21 to 30. France has increased its ratio from 18.5 to 25.3.

The fact that the lush American domestic market is the real objective of these unceasing maneuvers by our so-called "allies" is only too obvious. It is planned that America shall pay the bill.

> Of the 73 applications filed with the Tariff Commission and disposed of prior to August 1957, only 20 resulted in "finding" of need for escape action, and, of this 20, only seven had obtained favorable action of any sort from the President.
>
> —From *The United States in World Trade*

IN A SECOND attempt to entice the American Congress to accept this international super-government over world trade, another enforcing organization was trotted forward in 1954 in the form of the *Organization for Trade Cooperation*. President Eisenhower promptly placed the United States in OTC on a "provisional" basis, subject to confirmation by the Congress. To ease American acceptance, OTC was presented in its most disarming form and some of the socialistic features of ITO, which had alarmed the American public, were excised.

Moreover, GATT itself was repackaged to make it more acceptable to the United States, by granting a "waiver" to the United States, leaving it free, as far as GATT was concerned, to take measures effecting agricultural imports which are related to the administration price-support program.

With such stage management, an effort is going to be made to rush

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American affiliation with OTC through Congress. Once Congress accepts OTC, America will no longer be in control of its foreign trade. So, write to your Congressman and Senator promptly.

The kind of propaganda to which the American people are being exposed in the intensive administration effort to get us into OTC was shown in the December 10th speech of Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce at the annual dinner of the Committee on Foreign Trade Education. She declared that the American economy could stand a $2 billion dollar increase of imports from foreign countries. She argued that the United States must "move rapidly and strongly toward the abolition of American protectionism." She emphasized the current administration's fallacy—that we must increase trade with our "allies" in order to hold them to our side against the economic bait Russia is holding out to them in the form of East-West trade.

IT IS interesting to note that if Washington believes that tariff-free trade with Western nations is an anti-Soviet weapon, Moscow itself does not know anything about it. The Soviet countries are unqualified advocates of lowered U.S. trade bars, at least for the free nations. At a recent United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, meeting in Geneva, A. A. Arutianian, chief Soviet delegate, attacked the "monopolies" in the United States for *resisting* competition in the American market with European products. His talk could easily have been delivered by an Eisenhower spokesman.

Russia's two-faced game, in the tariff situation, is to shout vociferously for "liberalization" of trade, when it concerns the American market, at the same time making

The safeguards which Congress has written into the Trade Agreement laws have proved in practice unbeneficial to small industries. Small accumulations of capital and small groups of workers appear to be considered *expendable* when attempts to invoke the Congressional safeguards in their behalf conflict with the State Department's general foreign economic policy.

The escape clause and most other protective devices remain generally ineffectual. With broad discretionary power vested in the Executive, the door is opened to considerations far removed from a straight-forward determination as to injury to domestic industry.

—From *The United States in World Trade*

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sneak deals with our so-called allies for closed trade, largely through barter, with the autarchic Russian and satellite systems. Our zeal for "reciprocity" merely weakens us for our future economic showdown with Russia.

The reassuring thing in the present situation is that, after 24 years of continuous retreat before the free traders, American protectionists are ready to fight back against the Eisenhower proposals. American manufacturers, whose business is exclusively American and who have no foreign industrial subsidiaries, are resisting the effort to rush us into a One-World vise. Foremost among these are the textile manufacturers who face the cut-throat competition of low-wage Japanese industries. Since 1933, tariff rates on textiles, according to figures presented by Massachusett's Senator John F. Kennedy, have been reduced by 68 percent. This has left American textile manufacturers virtually naked before foreign competition.

Average Hourly Earnings in Industrial Occupations

(in United States dollars)

United States	$2.08
Canada	1.59
Sweden	0.83
Norway	0.72
New Zealand	0.70
Switzerland	0.63
United Kingdom	0.61
Belgium	0.56
West Germany	0.55
France	0.54
Italy	0.43
Ireland	0.39
Japan	0.22

—From *The United States in World Trade*

Since January 1, 1949, 99 American woolen and worsted mills have failed, abolishing the jobs of 40,000 workers. The result is the appearance in different parts of the United States of ghost-towns—casualties of America's ill-advised low tariff policies.

Donald Comer, president of the Avondale Mills, with 8,000 employees, told of his recent experience: "I called on a customer to sell him some ginghams. His desk was covered with beautiful samples of ginghams, and it developed that these samples were from Japan. My customer stated that his competitors were buying them and he was going to have to buy them too. . . . They were cheaper because their labor is cheaper." Mr. Comer commented that:

"Only America, being under the interpretation of reciprocal trade by the State Department, is taking things we don't need and manufacture competitively."

The pottery industry is another

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native American industry which has been hit hard by administration low tariff policies. J. J. Stein, Secretary of the California Potters Guild, revealed that in art pottery alone, the American industry had shrunk from 600 plants in 1946 to only 200 today; 86 percent of the china dinnerware purchased in this country is now imported; 70 percent of it comes from Japan.

The coal industry is another heavy sufferer from administration aid-the-foreigner policies; 32 million tons of residual oil is being dumped in the United States every year, mostly from Venezuela, to displace—for heating—American mined coal. Thousands of coal miners' jobs have been lost as a consequence. The United Mine Workers has been outspoken in Washington in protesting this policy.

The offenders here are giant American oil companies, with foreign producing, refining and selling subsidiaries, who place the welfare and profits of their foreign operations ahead of the welfare of American wage-earners.

ALTHOUGH some top United States trade union leadership, as typified by Walter Reuther, is clamorous for GATT-ITO, 19 AFL-CIO affiliated unions are officially in protest against the current low tariff Washington policies.

One of the strongest excoriations of the reciprocal trade treaty policy appeared in the *United Mine Workers Journal.* The editorial dubbed the reciprocal program as "the job export program." It capsuled the case against reciprocity as follows: "The British, West German, Italian, French, Belgian and Dutch nations, trading with the Soviet and satellite nations, build the economic power of the Soviet toward the strength sufficient for world-wide aggression. Reciprocal trade agreements, by which these nations of the Free World can undercut American products in American markets can only weaken the industrial power of the United States, by making it impossible to maintain our high wage scales and standard of living."

The voice of these spokesmen of American small business and labor will be heard resoundingly in Washington this year. The efforts of administration leaders to rush us into the ITO will be unavailing unless American-spirited citizens can be persuaded that the proposal is in the interest of America. Such persuasion will be a difficult task if the present temper of American business, and its spokesmen on Capitol Hill, is hardened.

World Government, reduced to simplest terms, means the end of American Liberty and a disarmed United States.—J. BRACKEN LEE

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PROFITS:

The Key to Productivity

by Benjamin F. Fairless

President of the American Iron and Steel Institute

What the money in the pay envelope will buy is the measure of prosperity

WE FACE today a divided world. We have seen it stained by blood over the bitter issue that divides us. Two powerful forces—freedom and slavery—repel each other. Both have now split and fused the little world of the atom. The larger world we both live in remains only split and confused.

We know that at present one of the foundations of the structure of the free world is the economic strength of America. Our nation's economic strength grows by a system of *free enterprise* as free men and women understand, support and conduct it. That strength thus far has been great enough to rally the Western nations of the world to the virtues of resistance and the values of freedom.

We have, in action, for all the world to see, a *successful society of free people*—who save, risk and profit under an economic system which provides material and spiritual values, and individual lives of dignity, opportunity and unequaled comfort. If that were not so, one might wonder why millions come to our side each year, and why millions more risk death to escape from the communist East to the free world. If it were not true, we might believe that the barbed wire borders, the check points, guns, guards and dogs were there to keep us out instead of doing what, in fact, they are doing: keeping the slaves in.

Not of our choice but by our very progress as a society, we have been thrust into leadership of the free nations. In recent months we have been split and confused over the temporary—and I emphasize temporary—dip in our rate of progress. We hear again of a cure for it that involves one of the discredited and bewhiskered economic arguments of Britain's Lord Keynes. It is based on a serious

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lack of understanding of *our* system and the sound way true progress has been and can be achieved.

Certain labor leaders declare that the reason key industries are now operating below capacity is because of a lack of consumer purchasing power. This reason *sounds* so simple and the cure—bigger and bigger wage increases—so appealing, that I suspect many persons *want* it to be true. If it were true, of course, then we would have a dandy remedy for any temporary downturn and a pat formula for all future progress: all we would have to do would be to double everyone's wages and then, under this concept, we would all be twice as well off. But, unfortunately, even in theory, it doesn't work out that way.

I think of our national wealth as being stored in a gigantic warehouse. Packed inside are all the goods, services, foods and fiber we Americans produce. At the other end—the shipping side—we bring our receipts, or money, to exchange for other things we require. Now, if we double the amount of receipts and do nothing about the amount of goods, we have not added one bit to our national wealth. All that happens is that we have twice as much money to buy the same amount of things; and, of course, in short order, we pay twice as much as before.

Many Americans recognize and have experienced the truth of this very simple illustration. In labor's camp there are wise leaders today who understand perfectly that we cannot take out of our national warehouse more than we put in. They know, too, that it is what we can actually buy with our pay rather than the number of dollars we get that really counts. Still, the consumer purchasing power theme is played, again and again, very cleverly—and apparently very carefully timed in relation to forthcoming bargaining sessions. It is a beguiling as well as a confusing melody and on the rank and file of labor it can have the same lulling effect that the songs of the sirens had on sailors of old. The results are the same, too.

THE MINUTE anyone says something like this he is immediately accused of being against wage increases and the labor unions. I am not opposed to either. I am emphatically for both. As to unionism, I could hardly feel otherwise. My father held a union card; my brother held one, also. I signed the first corporation-wide contract in the steel industry with the United Steelworkers of America. The late Phil Murray and I shook hands on it.

I am not now—nor have I ever been—against wage gains. When I say wage gains I mean ones that will *buy* more. I think everybody should get "more" as it becomes possible to create more. But in-

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creases in general wage rate levels to make real dollars and sense (spelled S-E-N-S-E) must bear a fair relationship to advances in national productivity. In the last ten years they haven't! A 26 percent gain in industrial productivity has been absorbed by a *61 percent rise in wage rates*.

Consumer purchasing power which reflects the *real* income and the confidence of the people is one of the vital parts of a prosperous America. The difference between the 26 percent gain in output and the 61 percent gain in wages is the real problem, so far as increasing consumer purchasing power is concerned, because it represents inflation.

WHILE it sounds delightful to stuff more money into pay envelopes, it must be understood that if new wealth or efficiency is not created, total purchasing power *in the market place* is not raised by as much as a fraction. What any man earns in our system stems from the value of what he produces; and, therefore, a *real* increase in his earning power comes about as he increases his productive power.

The really puzzling question is how can a man become more productive? Over the years we have developed a great army of inanimate slaves which add productive power to each free workingman. These are the machines and tools which, in our national warehouse, are the "capital goods," the product of savings invested. They permit each man to turn out many times more than he could if he depended only on his muscles.

The next question is, how do we get more of these capital goods, machine aids to productive power? The answer is, bluntly, *from profits*. With profits we have the real key to more productive power and thus earning power and thus progress. The new machinery and tools which enable a workingman to increase his output and which equip the new workers joining the labor force each year would not be available without profits. Whether they are used directly by being ploughed back into the business or indirectly as an incentive to investors, *profits start our forward motion* in providing rising living standards.

To show up the absurdity of any significant wage increase coming out of profits you need only compare the size of a *five* percent increase in wages with total corporate profits. In the highest profit year on record, 1950, such a wage increase would take about 20 percent of all corporate profits *before* taxes. A squeeze like that on profits would have three inevitable effects: it would stop investment, lower productivity and increase unemployment. That is hardly the pattern of "progress" or the way to strengthen our economy.

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I think it is time we replace confusion with understanding of the real source of our economic strength. We can cease trying to get more by taking it from someone else. Instead of raising costs, prices and the cost of living, let us, in our Republic, raise productivity, progress and the *standard* of living.

Ahead of us is a new era—a space age, as some call it—a time of tremendous technological change. In my opinion we are just now at the doorstep of a new warehouse for America, filled with greater wealth, more new things from more new processes in the next five years than we have ever seen before in our history—as the result of research and development *financed by American industry, made possible because of profits.* There is a great backlog of new ideas, theories and principles building up in our laboratories. To translate them into new jobs, factories, machines and finished products will require tremendous new investments.

THOSE private investments, however, will not be forthcoming unless a real incentive—a prospect of profit—entices investment. Unless those private investments are made we will, indeed, slip behind the Soviets, not just in a few single, spectacular scientific achievements, but in the real race we are running, in which our free system far excels their slave system.

When a government's income is no longer sufficient to meet the prodigal expenditures of a war period, it usually levies confiscatory and ruinous taxes upon its most productive citizens. When these taxes can no longer produce enough revenue to pay for the nation's extravagance, the government does one, or both, of two things: (1) It debases the coinage through outright devaluation and (2) it issues printing press money—either directly or through the indirect method which found favor in the U.S. during the 1930s and later on during World War II.

Under such conditions the potential inflation is unleashed. The money supply is suddenly and greatly increased without any increase in the supply of goods and services that the people wish to buy with that money. As the cost of living advances, the people demand more and more for whatever they have to sell, be it their labor, or their products and services. And so begins the endless wage-price spiral which is the inevitable consequence of inflation. Moreover, the government is also caught in this spiral once it has started. The expenses of the government rise and it resorts to more inflation, prints more money, and raises taxes still further, if possible. The critical stage is soon reached, and government must then attempt to control credit, prices, etc. in order to avoid ruinous inflation. This is the inflation pattern as shown by history.

—JOHN LEEDS KERR

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GUEST EDITORIAL

The American Textile Industry Files a Just Complaint

AMERICA's textile industry, not just the South's, but the Nation's, is imperiled by increasing inroads of Japanese cotton products. Unless its just complaint is heeded by Congress, it faces disaster.

To state that fact and condemn a policy so detrimental to basic American interest—as it applies particularly to the field—is not to disavow the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. The Banner has upheld the latter and urged the extension as a practical formula for expanding *mutually* beneficial world trade.

As originally conceived by the late Cordell Hull, who fathered the program, the reciprocal agreement was *reciprocal.* Under it a foreign nation would sell to us what they had in abundance, and we needed, and take its pay in commodities that we had in overabundance which it needed. Simply that is its basic theory.

What of Japanese textiles, however? Japan takes United States cotton (which she needs) at a cut-rate price, and ships back cotton goods which the United States *does not need;* products manufactured at wage-rates approximately *one-tenth* of those in the United States plants. The cotton is acquired for 7 cents per pound *less* than American manufacturers have to pay for it. In the American plants, wages, hours of work, minimum age standards, and the cotton prices are all regulated by the Government—and finally, United States industry is asked to permit this unfair competition.

There are over a thousand cotton mills in the United States, all of them sharply competitive, and they can note proudly that there are no lawsuits pending for anti-trust agreements.

The fact is that these Japanese inroads, subsidized by this formidable drain on United States resources, and a basic difference of production costs, are putting the American industry out of business.

No one is suggesting the crippling of Japanese industry. She is

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free to find her markets where she can. But an ounce of good economic sense would emphasize that first consideration of America, policywise, is the American interest. That isn't selfishness; it's the natural objection of any industry or people to getting its throat cut.

The United States textile industry does not fear fair competition. It has thrived on that, making millions of jobs. Very properly it opposes *unfair* competition, created artificially and *subsidized* by millions of the tax dollars it has helped supply.

from *The Nashville Banner*
Nashville, Tennessee

The Domestic Jeweled Watch Industry

Our domestic watch companies filed an application with the Office of Defense Mobilization more than two years ago under that provision of the Trade Agreements Act which was enacted by Congress in 1955, specifically to prevent skills and plant capacities essential to the national defense from being seriously injured by imports. The employment of production workers in the domestic watch industry has sunk even lower than it was a year ago.

In 1956, there were 3,955 production workers in our domestic watch plants. Today, there are only 2,803. These highly skilled workers have repeatedly been found to be essential to the Nation's *mobilization* base. When you realize that the watch industry is heavily involved in the missiles program because of the important contribution these skills are making, you will be even more concerned. This is another case of relief delayed being equivalent to relief denied.

But this is not the worst of the bad news. The 850 employees of the Elgin National Watch Co. at its Lincoln, Nebraska, plant were told that the plant is being shut down. The Elgin Co. announced that it is being forced by imports to cease watchmaking operations at the Lincoln plant. It is consolidating the watch operations at its Elgin, Illinois, plant. While the Elgin Co. will continue to manufacture jeweled watches, neither it nor the Nation will any longer have available the capacity of the Lincoln plant. How much longer are we going to tolerate these conditions which fly directly in the face of the *policy* the Congress puts into the Trade Agreements Act *to safeguard our vital defense industries?*

SENATOR C. T. CURTIS of Nebraska

Free trade is not a principle; it is an expedient.—DISRAELI

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There is a way
to return the control
of tariffs to Congress

DON'T GIVE OUR AMERICAN MARKET AWAY

By Senator George W. Malone

WE NOW HAVE the prospect of Eric Johnston moving in with his Cox's Army of 600 to 700 employees, trying to intimidate Congress to extend the very thing that is destroying the United States of America, namely, the policy of easy imports of the products of $2.50-a-day labor, with the help of American capital, which is encouraged to go abroad to build foreign plants and then ship their products back into the United States, duty free.

It does not make very much sense.

We have been confronted with a request which the President, through Secretary Weeks, has sent to the Congress. In private life, Secretary Weeks was in a business in which he could not have lived for 30 days without the existence of an adequate duty or tariff, to make up for the difference between the wages and cost of doing business in the United States and the wages and cost of doing business in the chief competitive nations.

Now the President has requested a *five-year extension* of the 1934 Trade Agreements Act, as extended to June, 1958. The present administration is the first free-import administration the Republicans have ever had in the nearly 100 years of their history, beginning with Abraham Lincoln.

The free imports advocates, supported by the low-wage foreign nations, work around the clock. In 1934, they were able to pass the Trade Agreements Act—so-called "reciprocal" trade—as an emer-

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gency measure for 3 years. This act has been periodically extended, until it now expires in June of this year.

There has been developed a pincers movement to destroy the economic and social structure of this nation, of which the free imports act is only one part.

THE FOLLOWING major moves were methodically made to accomplish the purpose:

First: In 1933, Congress took this nation off the gold standard, thus removing the only stabilizing anchor that our money ever had. Uncontrolled inflation was the inevitable result.

Second: The 1934, Trade Agreements Act transferred the constitutional responsibility of the Congress to regulate foreign trade, through the adjustment of the duty or tariff on imports, to the Executive, with the power to transfer that responsibility to foreign competitive nations at Geneva, Switzerland, which he did in 1947.

Third: The billions of dollars to Europe and Asia, about $70 billion since World War II—beginning with the three and three-fourths billions to England in 1946—the Marshall plan in 1948, and successive plans.

Fourth: Four official organizations, largely financed by this republic, were created for the *sole* purpose of promoting American investments in foreign countries to utilize cheap foreign labor in the production of goods to send back to America *under the free imports act.*

The organizations include: The Import-Export Bank; the International Bank; the International Monetary Fund—organized by Marxian Harry Dexter White and the International Finance Corporation.

Only one of these moves was placed before the Congress at a time. Never are they mentioned together so that it can be called a co-ordinated plan.

We are the only nation in the world today that does not protect the jobs of its workingmen or the domestic investments of those who invest their money *in America.*

There are two gimmicks involved in this matter. One was brought about when the 1934 Trade Agreements Act transferred the constitutional responsibility of Congress to regulate and to adjust duties, imports, and excises on imports—so-called tariffs—to the President, so that the *teeth of the Tariff Commission were pulled.* The Commission has no more authority over that matter than the man in the street. All the Commission can do is make recommendations to the President.

Testimony given by Mr. Dulles before the Finance Committee, brought out by my questioning, was that, if the President believes that through the sacrifice of a part

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of or an entire American industry —whether textiles, machine tools, livestock, or whatever industry it is—he can further this Government's foreign policy in securing agreements and treaties, then he may do that.

Never before in the history of the United States has such a proposal even been suggested, nor has such a proposal ever been put through the Congress.

Secretary Dulles also testified that, through the 1934 Trade Agreements Act, the President had full authority to transfer this authority to Geneva, Switzerland, under the auspices of 36 competitive foreign nations. organized as the International General Agreement on Tariffs and Trades, or GATT.

Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution gives Congress the power to regulate foreign trade. Until the day comes that we take the profit out of the low, sweatshop wages at the water's edge there will be no fundamental change in the wages in the foreign countries. The American investors are working with the foreign investors of those countries, and they are running those countries through kings, queens, and dictators. By holding the wages down in those countries, using *our* machinery and know-how, they can bring the products here and sell them for whatever the traffic will bear.

All the colonial possessions of the world were founded by greedy mother countries that forced raw materials to come to them as cheaply as possible, held down wages and costs of processing and manufacturing the material, and forced the colonies to buy back the finished products, not allowing them to have any manufactures at all.

It is still *our* American market that Great Britain prizes. It is the American market that all nations with whom we trade prize. It is the market that the 36 foreign members of GATT prize, one which our State Department has, in large measure, given them. It is our market that the State Department now wishes to give more of to these GATT nations. It is our market that the supporters of the 1934 Trade Agreements Act gave them in large measure, and the market that has been given them in progressively larger measure, in each of the successive extensions of that act.

OUR TARIFF and foreign-trade policies are established not by our sovereignty but by 36 foreign nations, each with one vote, devising and maneuvering our foreign-trade policy at sessions of GATT, meeting in far off Geneva, Switzerland.

At 12 separate sessions, since 1947, delegates to GATT have adroitly schemed ways to divide our wealth and markets with countries, commonwealths and colonies around the world, and with their

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conclusions and their policies our State Department has concurred.

This is not independence. It is not economic independence, industrial independence, moral independence or political independence. It is subjecting our citizens to the purpose and whims of 36 shifting, uncertain, and—frequently—covertly if not openly, antagonistic foreign governments.

When we become dependent upon a foreign nation for something, we cannot fight without—especially something outside the hemisphere and across a major ocean—we can be blackmailed in peacetime into further agreements and business treaties, and in wartime compelled to do anything foreign nations wish us to do, because we cannot obtain the materials.

We do not create technical knowledge and skills through free imports of cheap labor goods in competition with our own workingmen and investors. We certainly can not do it by substituting foreign production and the product of foreign skills for our own, which is the objective of free trade, free imports and free traders. Nor, can they be created overnight by merely voting billions of dollars while mines, mills, and factories throughout many areas of the nation are curtailing output or closing down because of the free import policy of our State Department and other non-military agencies in our Government.

THE PURPOSE of these agencies is to increase imports, either directly, by removing tariffs or rendering them innocuous; or indirectly, by encouraging or financing competing industries in foreign countries to produce a greater flow of imports, thus crushing American industry and enterprise, so vital to our defense.

What it does is to crush the workingmen and investors of America. That is what the Congress of the United States is debating. Senators rise on the floor of the Senate and complain of unemployment. Unemployment where? The mines are closed down. Textile mills and factories are closing down. Why? Largely because of American investments abroad, encouraged by the four organizations I have already mentioned. We encourage them to take their money abroad and to use it to pay $2.50-per-day labor and $3.50 labor, to make the materials which are brought in and sold from our shelves. It is impossible to make monkey wrenches in the United States today, when it is necessary to pay $16 or $17 a day, as against American machinery and know-how in foreign countries, with $2.50 labor.

The Internationalists wish to push the nation further and further during the next five years toward the brink of complete free trade, so that more and more foreign raw materials and more and

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more foreign manufactured goods —metals, textiles, electrical products, precision instruments, and I could name a hundred other products—may pour into this country to flood our markets and supplant our miners, millhands, artisans and mechanics.

Why? Because our European "friends," just as they did in 1776 and throughout the existence of this Republic, *want our markets;* and our State Department—for the past 22 years—has felt that in the interest of our foreign relations, our markets should be given to them.

This nation fought two wars to win our independence and for 158 years, or until 1934, our statesmen sought to preserve it. Since 1934, it has been progressively whittled away. Five more years of economic disarmament such as is now proposed, and where will we be? How much more of our independence will we have forfeited, and how much more will we be dependent on foreign nations for our survival?

ECONOMIC disarmament of the United States is precisely what Soviet Russia wants, what Red China wants, what the entire Communist world wants; what, in my opinion, many of our trade competitors in the so-called free world also want—and which they have been striving for throughout our history. Economic disarmament of rival nations and peoples is what every predatory power has always wanted, but this is the first time in history that a country of free people has been advised by some of its officials in government to destroy or disarm their own economy, which is the object of our free import policy.

For 23 successive years, administrations have been obsessed with the fallacy that our life, our economy, our wealth, and property are dependent on our foreign trade. From some of the publications of the Commerce and State Departments it would seem that nothing else matters; we must encourage more imports.

We must turn this great nation into a dumping ground for all the wares of Europe and the Orient, good products, poor products, junk and shoddy, it does not matter, just so foreign stuffs clog our markets.

What if our mines do close down, throwing thousands of miners out of work or on part time? What if our textile mills, or scores of other plants and factories, have to shutter, bringing distress to whole communities? What if American jobs are given to coolie, peon, and sweatshop foreign labor and the products of this cheap labor do supplant those of American workers in our markets?

Now foreign trade is not all bad, and it is definitely not all good. I take the position that trade which brings distress to American work-

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ers and communities and restricts the development and advancement of American industries—or which lessens our national defense capacities—is detrimental to our Republic. I have *never* objected to foreign trade conducted on a basis of fair and equal competition. In other words, I draw a distinction between *sound* foreign trade and *destructive* foreign trade, which our State Department and its free-trade champions do not. To them all foreign trade is wonderful.

THERE is no question that if the free and unrestricted imports continue, our nation will be headed for the level of wages and living conditions in European and Asiatic countries. When we reach that level, it will be too late to do anything about it. We are on the way.

In 1934, the Congress abdicated its responsibility to the people as expressly stated in the Constitution—Article I, Section 8—and turned over its powers to regulate tariffs and the national economy to the Executive.

The Executive passed it on to the State Department. Actually, it was the State Department which made the treaty.

In 1947, the authority was transferred to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, more familiarly known as GATT.

The United States, as do the 36 other foreign countries, sends a delegation to GATT to assist in dividing up our markets with every low-wage country of the world—*but not one single American elected official is a member of that delegation.*

As for GATT, itself, Congress has no official cognizance of it. *It has never been submitted to Congress* for approval or rejection.

The Washington bureaucrats come in left-handed, with what is called the OTC—the Office of Trade Cooperation. If you approve trade cooperation, you approve GATT. If you do not approve it, well, the other nations will continue, anyway, to get our assistance under the old 1934 Trade Agreements Act. This was testified by Mr. Dulles under my questioning in the Senate Committee on Finance in 1955, when the act was renewed for 3 years.

The entire GATT operation is completely insulated from any vote or votes by any American citizen. You cannot vote for or against the United States delegate at GATT even should he turn your job over to a foreign worker or destroy your industry, because he is not an elected official. He is a State Department underling.

You cannot express your satisfaction or dissatisfaction with any Member of Congress because of what GATT may do to you or to your business, because no Member of Congress participates in these 37-nation sessions, nor, for that

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matter, have we ever been given an opportunity to vote for or against this international monstrosity itself.

THE AUTHORITY now transferred to Geneva, for the regulation of our foreign trade and national economy by 36 competitive nations, *will*—unless this Congress extends the Trade Agreement Act again—*automatically revert to the Congress* of the United States. Then *all* the multilateral agreements and bilateral agreements—as made by our Secretary of State, who worked for Dean G. Acheson until the Republican administration took over the Government—will also fall, void, by the wayside. Then all tariff authority will automatically revert to the United States Tariff Commission, under the 1930 Tariff Act—which provides that the Tariff Commission shall determine the cost of producing an article or a similar article in the chief competitive foreign nations.

The Commission will be able to do that every day or every six months or every two years, at the invitation of the President, at the invitation of a Congressional committee or at the request of a supplier or seller.

Moreover, the Commission will be able to review any tariff regulation at its own motion, whenever it sees fit to do so.

Record of the Atomic Age

A record of the "birth pangs" of the atomic age has just been placed on permanent public display at the Argonne National Library in Lemont, Ill. It is a one-foot section of common graph paper tracing the first atomic reaction achieved by man. Annotated by Dr. Enrico Fermi, these tracings mark the beginning of the most significant and crucial era in man's history. This precise moment came on December 2, 1942, when Dr. Fermi and his associates accomplished the first controlled release of nuclear energy under the stands of Stagg Field, Chicago.

Written by a pen moving across a revolving drum, the lines of the graph record in detail the sequence of events that ushered in the age of the atom. Virtually incomprehensible even today to all but specialists, the graph reveals the neutron intensity developed at various stages of the pioneer reactor as Dr. Fermi directed the manipulation of the control rods of the atomic pile. The historic graph, finally removed from the secret classification, was mounted in an air-tight container of clear plastic by experts of the hand bindery at the R. R. Donnelley Company, Chicago printers. —LEO HAMALIAN

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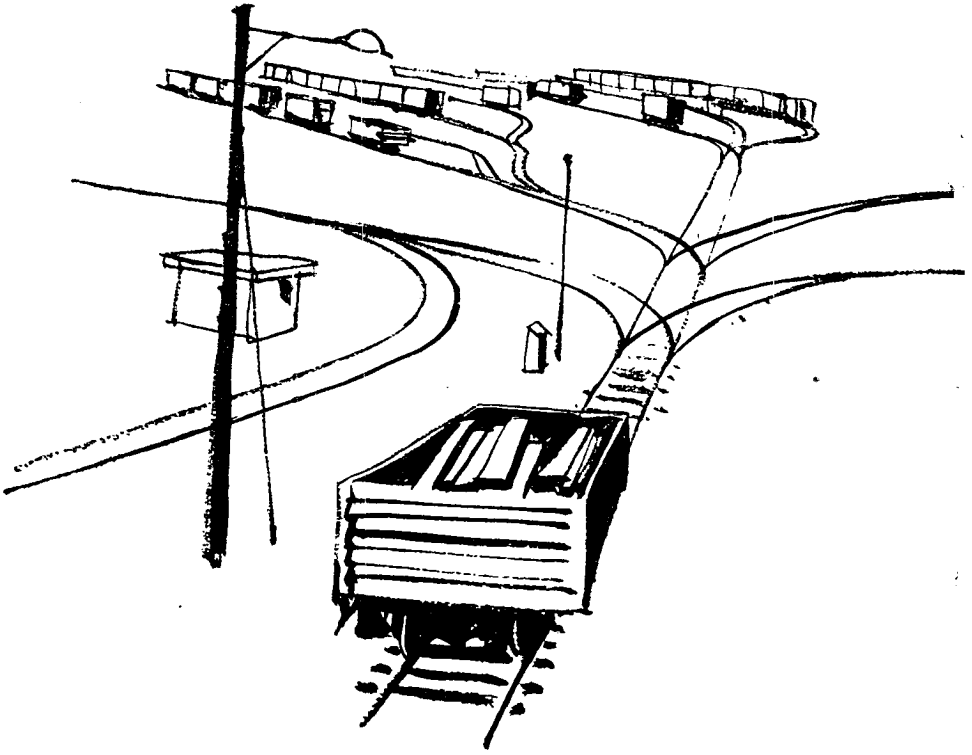

Will the railroads be able to survive the double threat of unfair competition and the increasing demands of their own laborers?

Right before the eyes of this generation of Americans the great railroads which our pioneers spread out all across the growing Republic—because of gigantic geographical, financial and political difficulties—are being killed off. Few things in America are more vital to us in time of war than our railroads and our Kremlin enemies surely gloat over our stupidity as they watch us commit our own domestic transportation's suicide. This month two experienced observers join in comments for MERCURY readers which we think most pertinent.

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CAN RAILROADS SURVIVE?

I

THE GOOSE THAT LAID THE GOLDEN EGG

by Frank W. Ball

I AM AFRAID that we have the goose that laid the golden egg groggy and a bit droopy. I work for the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad and have just spent a week in one of our fine hospitals. I was attended by three doctors, a trained nurse, and other hospital personnel. I was in such pain that I thought I had a fractured vertebra or a slipped disc, but X-rays disclosed none. Instead it was a torn ligament that kept me away from work for six days. The hospital didn't charge me a dime. I have free medical protection for myself and family, up to a maximum price. They discharged me at 9 A.M., but when I told them I couldn't get away before 1 P.M. they asked me to be their guest for dinner.

The railroad claim agent came promptly to my house with a $100 check for the time lost because of an injury sustained. I admitted it was due to my own awkwardness.

I see by the papers that John L. Lewis has made it official that his union will make no more wage demands for the present. He says, also, that coal operators will not be asked to give the miners a three-day Christmas 1958 holiday with $40.00 holiday pay. Coal sales have been waning and coal operators' profits have been lagging.

Old John L. knows the score. He has done very well for his miners, though. When I dumped coal from a West Virginia coal mine 40 years ago, the miner got $6.40 for loading with his weary muscles the famous "sixteen tons." Today he gets $23.62 in actual wages for loading sixteen tons—with push buttons and levers. He has a $26,000,000 hospitalization setup, holiday pay, unemployment pay, and a health and welfare fund to take care of him when he is old or disabled. He owns a home if he wants to, trades where he chooses, and gets the old $6.40 paid into his health and welfare fund in addition to vacation pay of $140.00 a

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year, or a total of $32.26 in wages and fringe benefits. The day worker averages about $20.00 a day in wages plus the fringe benefits.

My railroad's chief income tonnage is coal. Railroad men in the non-operating groups (those not engaged in running trains) gained a 24-cents-an-hour pay increase in 1956 plus escalator raises geared to a cost of living index that will garner us, as inflation increases, ten or twelve cents an hour more. The first ten cents, plus three more from the escalator, started November 1, 1956. We got seven and five more November 1, 1957, and will get seven and whatever the inflation escalator index reads November 1, 1958. In addition we won free medical care generally. Added to this were seven paid holidays. We already had a pension plan second to none in the nation, paid for half by the employee, half by the company. It costs the nation's railroads nearly $20.00 per man per month to keep this system in operation.

Pretty good, I say. I like it. But I have begun to worry a bit lately.

I've seen it reported that the last wage and fringe benefits will cost the American railroads $750,000,000. That's quite a wad. More money than I can imagine. When the first wave of raises and fringe benefits struck the companies' coffers, a lot of railroad common stock fell a bit. The second wave has just hit the hoppers as this is written and stock that once was 62.2 on my railroad has dipped to 48. *Thousands of railroad men* now own railroad and other corporate stocks. So do a few million other "little" people. The C & O Railroad has twice as many stockholders as employees.

Free medical care for railroaders' families has made necessary an extension of the C & O's Huntington, West Virginia, hospital that will cost over $250,000, the railroad estimates.

So much for the railroads and the coal mines. But it goes without saying that money paid out of *any* company's coffers affects the soundness of that company's financial structure and its standing among its fellow organizations. On the other hand, a poorly paid labor force is an inferior labor force. I know from experience that you can't run a present day business with morons.

FOR OVER thirty years I have read labor publications avidly. I used to rejoice when I saw where some union had won something for its men from the big bad industrial organizations. But my exuberance has waned considerably when I read of the mighty new "concessions" won by labor unions from the corporations—even when I am the benefactor.

I remember reading as a child about a man who owned a goose that laid a golden egg daily.

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A SENATE OBJECTIVE:

II

RESCUING THE RAILROADS

by E. F. Tompkins

A SUBCOMMITTEE of the U.S. Senate, in public hearings, has reviewed a parade of railroad presidents—no fewer than twenty of them.

At long last these so-called magnates have been permitted to discuss with responsible lawmakers the "deteriorating railroad situation." The situation is critical. The Subcommittee Chairman, Senator Smathers (D-Fla.) announced: "Available statistics indicate that the American railroads are heading for serious trouble."

The "trouble" may be serious, in peace as well as in war. For the railroads are still the mainstay of our domestic transportation. They carry 35 percent of our commercial passenger traffic. They haul nearly half of all the freight that moves between the cities, and they are compelled to compete against other forms of transportation while hampered by an obsolete pattern of Federal regulation that does not similarly hinder their competitors. They do all this without the benefits of immense public subsidies which these competitors receive.

As shown by statistics, net working capital of the railroads has been so restricted that today it is barely sufficient "to meet the payrolls of the railroads for only eight days." The remedy would be to allow the railroads to earn enough revenue to attract the requisite capital investment. But railroad rates are restricted by the Interstate Commerce Commission under obsolete and dilatory procedures.

Senator Smathers therefore hopes to formulate (1) "desirable changes in ICC policy under existing law" and (2) "new legislation necessary to insure a sound railroad industry as an integral part of the national transportation system."

Railroads, of course, must own and maintain rights of way and terminals, on which they pay heavy taxes. Their competitors, they complain, are heavily subsidized. David I. Mackie, Chairman of the

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Eastern Railroad President's Conference, says:

"In the last quarter century, Federal, State and local government have poured $5 billion into airport aid. This is about four times the amount the commercial airlines . . . have invested in their own business."

Likewise, as an example, the New York Barge Canal in 1955 collected in revenues "only one dollar for roughly each $12 expended by the State . . . for operation and betterment of the canal system." Taxpayers defrayed a deficit of more than $6,000,000.

THE publication "Railroad Progress" contributes another commentary. Directly or through "counterpart funds," it says, the U.S. has donated "over $1.3 billion to help support the Socialized transportation systems of foreign countries."

From the New York Journal-American

Counsel From Two Great Presidents

"We must realize the vitality of a great spiritual force which we call 'nationalism.' The fuzzy-minded intellectuals have sought to brand nationalism as a sin against mankind. They seem to think that infamy is attached to the word 'nationalist.'

"The spirit of nationalism springs from the deepest of human emotions. It rises from the yearning of men to be *free of foreign domination,* to govern themselves. It springs from a thousand rills of race, of history, of sacrifice and pride in national achievement . . . In our own country, does not the word *America* stir something deeper within us than mere geography? Does not the suffering and the sacrifice of our forebearers who fought for our independence flash in our minds with every mention of the word?"—HERBERT HOOVER, 1954

"An unmanly desire to avoid a quarrel is often the surest way to precipitate one: and utter unreadiness to fight is even surer . . . If in the future we have war, it will almost certainly come from some action, or lack of action, on our part, in the way of refusing to accept responsibilities at the proper time, or failing to prepare for war when war does not threaten."—THEODORE ROOSEVELT, 1897

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Free

— For others —

American Trade

By Politicus

WASHINGTON-WISE observers have learned to be extremely wary of movements which get off to a bang-start in the Capital. They instinctively look for the special interest which lurks behind the smooth front of the lobbyist and the press agent.

Just about the most expert pressure operation which is now exhibiting itself in Washington is the *Committee for a National Trade Policy*. Comprising big business interests which have sizable industrial capital investments overseas, it supplies most of the steam for the present drive in Congress to lower tariffs and affiliate the United States with the rightly distrusted Organization for Trade Cooperation. The size of this segment of American business may be seen by the fact that, at the end of 1956, Americans had investments of $33 billion abroad.

Headed by Sidney Swensrud, chairman of the Gulf Oil Company, the committee's directorate is a cross section of business concerns which have a vested interest in widened foreign trade. They are willing to scrap the traditional policies of the United States to obtain it.

The industrialist who has been the real leader of this committee since it was launched in 1953 is John S. Coleman, president of Burroughs Corporation of Detroit and a former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Coleman was instrumental in swinging the United States Chamber of Commerce behind the low tariff policy during his incumbency.

Mr. Coleman's animus in urging low tariff policies may be seen when we examine the set-up of the Burroughs Corporation, manufacturer of adding machines, which he heads. Burroughs main-

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tains six manufacturing plants abroad and marketing corporations in 20 foreign countries. In 1953, when Coleman helped launch the Committee, Burroughs net profits of $7,206,655 included $2,068,978 profit derived from *dividends on foreign subsidiaries*. Thanks to this foreign subsidiary corporate organization, Burroughs is able to benefit largely in its tax bill. With lower tariffs, the corporation is prepared to manufacture its products with cheap foreign labor and gain a larger share of the American domestic market.

OTHER stand-out supporters of the Committee are John J. McCloy, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, which has huge interests abroad; Charles S. Percy, president of Bell, Howell Company, which has a Canadian subsidiary and affiliation with a British concern that manufactures its product in England; and Ralph I. Straus, director of R. H. Macy Company, whose buyers circle the globe seeking low price foreign-made products to be shipped cheaply into the American department store market. Gulf Oil Company, which Mr. Swensrud heads, has a huge investment in Middle East and Venezuelan oil, that could be affected by a lower tariff scale.

One of the industrialists who spoke out unreservedly for lower tariffs when the Committee was launched was Henry Ford II, president of the Ford Motor Company. Ford, in a speech in Chicago on February 17, 1953, actually proposed *outright free trade*. Mr. Ford stated, as his platform, the repeal of the tariff act, the end of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, the repeal of the *Buy America Act* and the elimination of all quotas. He advocated, as a good thing for America, the absorption of an additional five or six billion dollars' worth of foreign goods per year. At the same time that Mr. Ford was thus proposing to rewrite American economic policy, the company which he heads was maintaining a large manufacturing plant in England that manufactures and ships cars to the American market, pays the present tariff of 10 percent, and *undersells* Fords made by American labor by several hundred dollars.

A conspicuous spokesman of the Committee, at its outset, was Charles P. Taft, "Liberal" brother of the late Senator Robert A. Taft. Mr. Taft, who was the actual father of the Committee, was embarrassed when it was revealed by a Washington newspaper that he was a registered foreign agent for the Chambers of Commerce of Venezuela, a country that is keenly interested in selling more Venezuela-drilled oil in the American market.

The Committee for a National Trade Policy is not the only organization which is beating the

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drum for lower tariffs or free trade in Washington this year.

There is the *National Committee for OTC,* with a sponsor make-up almost identical with that of the *Committee for a National Trade Policy*. The heavy direct propaganda is handled by the low tariff group through a third organization, with offices in New York—the *Committee on Foreign Trade Information*. This Committee describes itself as a "volunteer, non-profit" organization. It claims to have originated in 1953 through the initiative of members of the Young Republican and Young Democratic Clubs of New York (both strongholds of Left-Liberal political elements).

The Committee on Foreign Trade Information describes its program as follows: "Impressed by the appalling fact (disclosed by the Gallup Poll) that 48 percent of the public knows nothing of the national battle on tariffs, the Committee has given its whole program to a grass roots orientation—the campaign is taken right to the general public. The appeal is to the man-in-the-street from fellow citizens whose only interest is civic. The average family is shown its stake in expanding U.S. trade." In short, the Committee is embarked on a brainwashing operation. That its officers are in touch with sizable money is indicated by the full-page advertisements in the New York *Times* and other publications.

BRINGING up the rear of the free trade drive are such other familiar internationalist organizations as the *Americans for Democratic Action,* the *Twentieth Century Fund* (endowed by the late Edward A. Filene and staffed by Left-Liberals), the *National Planning Committee,* which usually goes along with New Deal and Fair Deal causes, the AFL-CIO (but not the 19 affiliated AFL-CIO unions which are still committed to the traditional AFL protective tariff policy), and practically the whole national "Liberal" press.

In all their pronouncements, these groups emphasize almost *ad nauseum* that we must help "our allies" by making the American home market available to their goods. They parrot R. A. Butler's phrase, "trade, not aid." Nowhere is thought given to the small-scale American manufacturer who employs high waged American labor. He will be disastrously affected by the flood of cheap labor produced goods which will be brought into this country, under the proposed plan. In all the high-sounding proposals of the international-minded group, the *100 percent American manufacturer,* who maintains no foreign subsidiaries, is the forgotten man. It is he—and not the huge world-scale corporation which profits by internationalism—who is spotted in the plan to pay the price for our international do-gooderism.

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Opportunity, success and romance are his—so long as he remains in prison

The CAPITALIST Who Killed *Trotsky*

By Kenneth McCaleb

A TALL, wide-shouldered, studious-looking industrialist in Mexico stands in his well-appointed office, next-door to comfortable living quarters which adjoin his prospering factory—probably the only private-enterprise factory of its kind in the world. The man, too, is unique. Only a few strides of his long legs are necessary for him to inspect all the physical aspects of a tax-free business to which he has devoted 15 undisturbed years.

It is, to be sure, a small business by American standards and, despite his six-foot height, he should be counted only as a "small businessman." Starting with a cubicle radio repair shop he expanded into the manufacture of fine furniture and new radio sets. This year he has added an assembly plant for television receivers to supply a booming Mexican market. He employs between sixty and seventy full-shift workmen. His business nets him annually an estimated fifteen thousand American dollars worth of Mexican pesos—which, in Mexico, enable him to enjoy many luxuries.

The man's present name is Jacques Mornard. His living quarters and factory are inside the walls

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Kenneth McCaleb was for many years one of the greatest of Hearst newspaper Editors. Retiring, at last, as Editor of the New York Mirror *Magazine, Ken—as he he is fondly remembered by thousands of newspapermen—lives much of each year South of the Border, especially in Mexico, where for two years he has been at work on an important historical book which he expects to publish sometime in 1959.*—ED.

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of the sprawling prison known as *"The Black Palace of Lecumberri,"* which is both the Republic of Mexico's Federal Penitentiary and Mexico City's Municipal Jail. He is serving a sentence of twenty years' imprisonment, the maximum penalty under Mexican law for murder.

On August 20, 1940, as a Communist assassin presumably acting for the Stalinist regime, he went to Mexico City's suburb of Coyoacan and there dealt two blows with an Alpine axe which successfully liquidated Leon Trotsky, co-partner of Nikolai Lenin in creating what was to become the Russian Soviet Empire.

I FIRST learned about Mornard's unique capitalist enterprise on a visit to Mexico's unusual prison in 1955, when Mornard, having served fifteen years of his sentence, became eligible for parole—but did not want to leave. In the three years since that time, several half-hearted efforts have been made to force his probationary release. All of these have somehow just faded into official Mexican *mañana* inactivity. The general impression among Mexico's newsmen is that Mornard simply does not want out. Why should he? He never had it so peaceful—or profitable.

Dubbed at one time *"the most mysterious prisoner since the man in the Iron Mask,"* Mornard is today all but forgotten by the outside world. Yet his past is an enigma for students of such matters to puzzle over. He says that Jacques Mornard is his real name; that he is a Belgian who became a Communist after serving as a soldier in the Belgian Congo; that he became, in Russia, a Trotsky partisan after the party schism which followed Lenin's death; that he followed his idol to Mexico and—having become disillusioned with the exiled leader—killed him. He has never, at the time of his arrest and trial nor in the ensuing years, varied from this story nor added to it.

No one who knew him—either in Belgium or as a soldier in the Congo—has been found by Mexico's world-wide intelligence service. There is no shred of evidence that he has ever been in either place. To those familiar with the workings of the Communist underground, it seems more likely that he was one of those faceless Kremlin agents trained from early youth as assassins for the Stalinist wing of the Communist party—under the supervision most probably of the late Lavrenti Beria—and provided with a gamut of fictitious personalities and biographies for use as needed in carrying out the Kremlin's international assignments.

He may well have been only one of several—the "lucky one"—sent to Mexico to assassinate Trotsky, who was a potential menace, while alive anywhere, to Stalin's Inter-

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national Communist dictatorship. Mornard has been variously "identified" as Walther Lvorak, a Czech who was a Communist in Italy; Frank Jackson, an American educated abroad; and Ramon Hernandez, a Spanish Communist arrested in Barcelona in 1935, whose recorded fingerprints were once claimed to be identical with those of Trotsky's slayer. He may have been all three of these—as well as Jacques Mornard.

As fascinating as the speculation over Mornard's past history are the facts of his present life. Not more than a decade ago, Lecumberri prison had well earned its nickname of "Black Palace." Its sanitation was primitive and diseases of almost every kind were endemic, causing an enormously high mortality rate. But even greater was the number of prison deaths from nightly fights with clubs and knives. Psychopathic killers mingled with boys arrested on—though not yet convicted of—charges of stealing a mere handful of tortillas. Traffic in weapons, and in narcotics, was notorious, as was an elaborate system of bribery which provided privileges for some, starvation and death for others.

DURING the regime of President Miguel Aleman, Lecumberri began a house-cleaning. Incorrigible criminals and recalcitrant convicts were sent to the island prison of *Tres Marias* in the Gulf of California; medical and hospital facilities made their appearance; narcotics, if not eliminated, were harder to obtain and their possession heavily penalized. Bribery of guards was not wiped out but it was curtailed. Though the prison diet fell somewhat short of epicurean, no prisoner starved. Most important was a new system of rewards for good behavior.

Even before the Aleman reforms, prisoners at Lecumberri were encouraged to work at whatever legal trades or handicrafts they might have known "on the outside." Shoemakers, carpenters, potters and wood-carvers sold the products of their labor to other prisoners, to visitors to the prison or, through agents, to customers beyond the walls. The powerful labor unions of Mexico have registered no objection to these examples of individual enterprise; many of the convicts were union members in good union—if not legal—standing.

Mornard's radio, furniture and television factory is not the only industry flourishing inside the walls of Lecumberri, but it is the largest. When he first entered the prison, there was no trade or skill in which he had been trained, except that of an assassin. Correspondence courses schooled him in electrical and radio engineering and he became the prison's technical expert in those jobs. His personally profitable private enterprises, which

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made him a capitalist, followed in natural sequence. During this transition, he also appears to have changed ideologically. Where formerly he had regaled his fellow convicts with violent expositions of Communist doctrines, he gradually abandoned all political discussion and came to be regarded as a kindly boss—to the other prisoners he hired—and a "good" citizen of his restricted community.

THE ROMANTICALLY inclined may ascribe some of this change to a handsome Mexican woman, Rogelia Mendoza, who, beginning in 1947, became his regular weekly "conjugal visitor." Mornard refers to her as his wife and she may be, by way of a civil rather than a Church marriage. As mysterious in her way as is Mornard, she answers all questions by replying politely: "You will have to ask Jacques."

On the several occasions when I have sought a private conversation with Mornard, I have been told, as politely and as firmly, by prison officials: "He does not want to see you." Apart from the hope of adding him to the list of murderers I have interviewed—which runs all the way from Al Capone to Hideki Tojo—I wanted to ask him why he has made no active effort to obtain his release on parole, for which he became eligible three years ago. I think I have, however, at least part of the answer.

Many of us have forgotten it, but in 1926 and '27, Leon Trotsky's "deviation" from the Kremlin's party-line—as interpreted by Stalin—was his insistence that a Communist regime in only one country, Russia, made no sense; that only if the whole world could be directed into the same regime could the "proletarian revolution" be a success. This theory conflicted with Stalin's first-things-first doctrine of speeding up "socialist construction" *within* the Soviet Union. Trotsky, too powerful at that time to kill, was banished.

Now that Soviet Communism has been de-Stalinized and "socialist construction" has risen to the achievement of *sputniks-cum*-ICBM's, it is obvious that Stalin's successors are aiming at Communist domination of the world—Trotsky's historical international precept.

Khrushchev & Co., of course, have perfected new ways and means of achieving their end—subtler propaganda, secret political, commercial and industrial penetration—which were beyond Trotsky's fondest dreams.

But isn't it logical that, having pointed the way more than 30 years ago, Trotsky's memory may soon be destigmatized and enshrined, along with Lenin's, in the hierarchy of the godless Red religion? In that event, what would be the Kremlin's fate for Trotsky's now almost forgotten assassin?

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Jacques Mornard is safe, perhaps, as long as he is behind prison walls. His only secret worry may be over what may happen to him when, in 1960, his maximum prison term comes to a legal end and he will by Mexican law be compelled to vacate his secure position as the contented capitalist of Lecumberri.

A Great Man of the South

Since the emancipation of slaves many Negroes have risen to prominence. Among the greatest of these, Booker T. Washington, was born in a one-room cabin on a Virginia plantation April 5, 1856. Barely five years of age when the War Between the States started, he was still old enough to remember the ante bellum days. When, at the age of nine, he saw the end of the war, the South was impoverished and lacked funds for the education of the emancipated slaves. Booker's mother decided to move to West Virginia where the lad worked at any job he could get to supplement the family income. Here, too, he received his first taste of education at a nearby elementary school for colored children that held classes in the evenings. At the age of 17, hearing of a school for Negroes at Hampton, Virginia, 500 miles away, he went there. To pay for his board and lodging he did janitor work, waited on tables and learned the trade of brick laying when he wasn't busy with his academic studies. Upon graduation he was given a place on the faculty.

An idea for a training school for Negroes had been generated by two men from Tuskegee, Alabama, one white and one Negro. They wrote to Hampton, asking that school to recommend someone to be principal of the projected institution and Booker received the recommendation.

Arriving at Tuskegee he found that the State Legislature had appropriated the meager sum of $2,000 for the new enterprise, but as yet there was no school. Booker undertook the work of building one and went about the country making friends, telling of his plans and hopes, and inviting young Negroes to Tuskegee. Classes were held in a Negro church until the first unit called Tuskegee Institute was built. In time Booker borrowed money and bought an old plantation. Since many people believed that educated Negroes would not work, he required each student to work with his hands an amount of time equal to that spent with books. The school prospered and new courses were added each year.

As years passed, Booker T. Washington won acclaim from prominent citizens in both the North and the South and at his death in November, 1915, he had done more for his race than any of this predecessors, and perhaps more than any Negro who has followed him.

—RAY HOARD GLASSLEY

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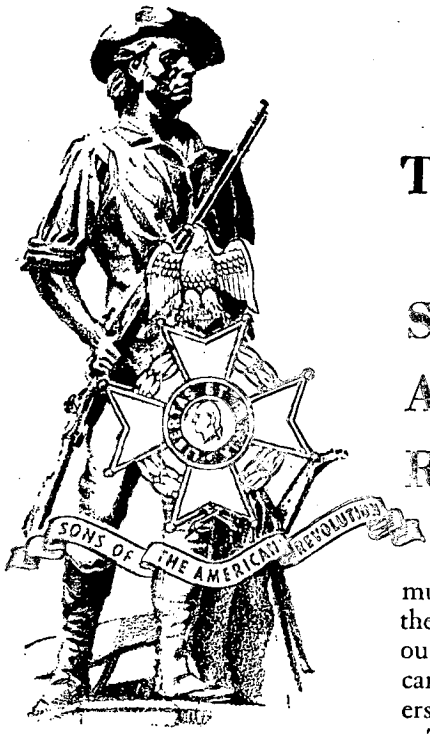

The Valiant Men of the SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

by
Will Watson

WHENEVER and wherever you encounter a man who tells you quietly that he is a member of the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, you can be sure that you are in the presence of an American Patriot. There is other evidence of the *force* of these men throughout the Republic: the constant attempt of Marxist Socialists, Fabian Socialists and Communists to make fun of and smear the S.A.R. By our enemies, within our land, our personal characters can become known—even to strangers.

The character of the men of the S.A.R. has one common denominator. Born of our land and of colonial ancestors who *fought,* first, to establish liberty, freedoms and morality in America, the Sons of the American Revolution look backward with reverence—and forward with alert militancy. They, with the Daughters of the American Revolution (D.A.R.), are today intent on fortifying national patriotism in all their native communities.

At work in each of our States,

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this patriotic American society of men has accomplished many tasks in fortifying the men of our Congress in their American philosophies and legislation. The *American* assets for which this Society has worked, and the American *liabilities* which it has doggedly fought —without any self-publicity—run the gamut of today's national and international battleground. We have only to open the S.A.R.'s annual diaries to see how *right* thinking these men have been, in the things they have been *for* and the things they have been *against:*

1953: Commended Congressional Investigation Committees; supported limitation of treaty-making powers of the White House; reaffirmed opposition to World Government; complimented Senator Robert A. Taft; commended State Legislatures; opposed federal aid to education and socialized medicine; petitioned Congress for a special national observance of Constitution Day.

1954: Deplored a vacillating foreign policy: secret deals, notably those at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam; exposed UNESCO publications; opposed squandering our national wealth on unrealistic foreign aid grants; endorsed the Bricker Amendment against "Treaty Laws"; opposed recognition of Red China; condemned both Socialism and Communism; exposed dangers in UN committee reports; opposed employment by our government of persons of questionable loyalty; called for an investigation of all tax-exempt foundations; endorsed the McCarran-Walter (immigration) Act.

1955: Demanded our government force the freeing of U.S. prisoners of war by the Red Chinese and/or Soviets; endorsed, again, the Bricker Amendment; demanded, again, that Congress investigate tax-exempt foundations; endorsed the FBI and J. Edgar Hoover; demanded the stopping of U.S. foreign aid to governments trading with Communist China; opposed, again, any diplomatic or commercial dealings with Red China; opposed any Congressional ratification of the so-called UN Genocide Pact; warned against any amending of the UN charter which would diminish American sovereignty; fought, again, continuing efforts to change our immigration nationality law; opposed any *political* union of Atlantic Treaty (NATO) Nations; fought attempts to legislate "Mental Health" projects and bureaucracy; condemned continuing attempts to subvert the U.S. into a World Government; demanded the establishment of American sovereignty in the Antarctic.

1956: Proposed a national campaign to alert citizens against dangers to our freedom; again supported Congressional and State investigating committees; fought the so-called "Alaska Mental Health Act's" dangers to our Constitu-

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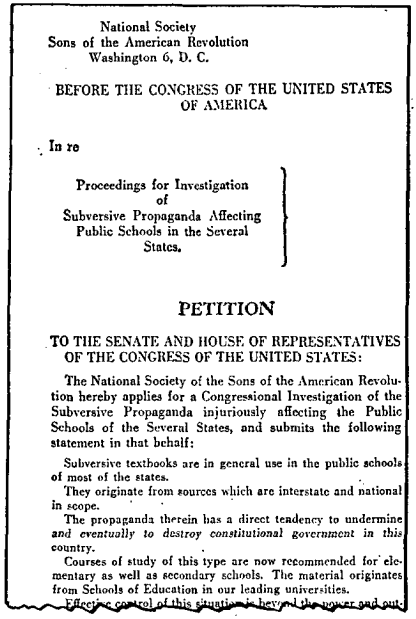
tional rights; condemned acts of eavesdropping and tampering with juries; supported States' Rights to enforce sedition and right-to-work laws; demanded a thorough Congressional investigation of UNESCO; exposed liabilities of certain foreign aid expenditures; challenged treaty-power amendments to Executive Agreements and existing treaties; proposed a ceiling on income taxes; endorsed the Herbert Hoover Report for eliminating federal government waste and excessive personnel.

1957: Demanded the liquidation of the Status of Forces Treaty under which our armed forces citizens could be arrested and convicted by foreign courts; condemned the Supreme Court's decision upholding the right of a Communist to practice law; fought for the right of trial by jury in injunction cases; upheld the right of Senators to free debate in the Senate, without gagging by pressure groups; demanded that if Red China were admitted into the United Nations the United States should get out; fought the plans for giving away our atomic secrets to foreign agencies; opposed any plan to internationalize our Panama Canal; endorsed Colonel Rudd's book, exposing the subversions within our educational system, *"Bending the Twig"*; decried the false philosophy of "Equality" as Communistic propaganda; endorsed the integrity and effectiveness of the FBI—and Congressional appropriations to maintain it; supported, again, the "national origins" principal of the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act; urged, again, an investigation of UNESCO; proposed rewriting our lax law of "treason" to include conspirators in time of peace as well as in time of war; opposed, again, any recognition of the Red Chinese regime by the UN or Washington, and circulated, again, resolutions in Congress against the Genocide Pact, Status of Forces,



National Society
Sons of the American Revolution
Washington 6, D. C.

BEFORE THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In re

Proceedings for Investigation of Subversive Propaganda Affecting Public Schools in the Several States.

PETITION

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

The National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution hereby applies for a Congressional Investigation of the Subversive Propaganda injuriously affecting the Public Schools of the Several States, and submits the following statement in that behalf:

Subversive textbooks are in general use in the public schools of most of the states.

They originate from sources which are interstate and national in scope.

The propaganda therein has a direct tendency to undermine *and eventually to destroy constitutional government in this* country.

Courses of study of this type are now recommended for elementary as well as secondary schools. The material originates from Schools of Education in our leading universities.

Effective control of this situation is beyond the power and out-

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World Government, treaty-law powers, foreign aid to neutrals or pro-Communists, and a stricter loyalty requirement for government employment.

Who among us, *Patriots of our Republic,* feels like making fun of the Sons of the American Revolution for such constant vigilance and devoted effort to preserve our assets—national, moral, and spiritual? Let the alien radicals and their stooges make their little twisted jokes about the S.A.R.— or the D.A.R. Their jibes signify only that our patriotism—which they like to term *chauvinism*—acts as a constant roadblock to their schemes.

Nationally founded May 1st, 1889, after a preliminary delegate conference in Fraunces Tavern in New York, The National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution has continued to flourish, through years of peace and trials of war; its members have fought on many battlefields, in the 20th Century, to keep foreign tyrants again from our land. Through 48 State Societies and outlying Societies in Alaska, Hawaii and France, it has become, in many communities, the deeply-rooted base of patriotic as well as civic betterment. From its National Headquarters in Washington D. C. it supervises a vigorous and, at times, militant National program against every form of subversion any of its members discover.

Again in 1958, it will hold its National annual Congress, this time in old Biloxi, Mississippi, May 11th through May 14th. Then, from National Headquarters, will go again the S.A.R. *Bill of Grievances,* minutely documented for the attention of our legislative sentinels in the Senate and the House of Representatives. Under our Constitution American citizens have the inherited *right* to "Petition the Congress" for the redress of grievances.

One of our current liabilities is that only a few groups of citizens have used this right—and Constitutional authority. It is one American answer to the often heard question: *"What Can I Do?"*

"A people," John Stuart Mill warned, "may prefer a free government; but if from indolence, or carelessness, or cowardice, or want of public spirit, they are unequal to the exertions necessary for preserving it; if they willl not fight for it when it is directly attacked . . . they are unlikely long to enjoy it."

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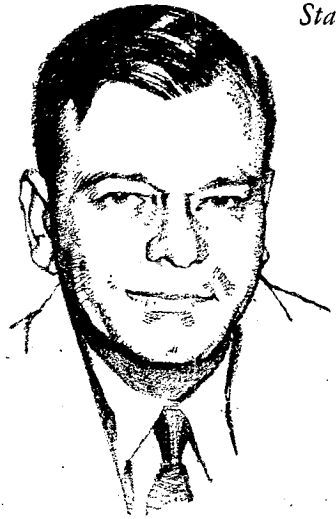

State sovereignty is protected in Congress by the right of unlimited Senate debate

No Gag on Our Senate

by Senator Herman Talmadge

ANY PROPOSAL for further limiting debate in the United States Senate is a matter of grave consequence which, by its very nature, demands that it not be acted upon capriciously or without the benefit of thorough study and full consideration of all its ramifications. It is out of that deep conviction that I have insisted upon comprehensive hearings on the eight pending resolutions seeking that end.

The Senate of the United States, as an instrumentality of the States and their citizens, is the property of every American and does not belong to the individuals who transiently occupy the seats in its chamber. Individual Senators have no *proprietary rights* in the operation of the Senate except as they act as creatures of the will of their states and constituents.

More than three-fourths of those presenting their views to the Subcommittee expressed approval of Senate Rule XXII *as it now stands* and confidence in it as the major bulwark of the people in the maintenance of constitutional government and individual liberty.

There is only one conclusion which can be drawn logically and dispassionately concerning the efforts of those who persist in their efforts to change Rule XXII: their onslaught to stifle freedom of speech on the floor of the Senate

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is an attack not only on the Senate itself but also on the stature, prerequisites and prerogatives of each senator in national affairs and every other responsibility incident to senatorship. It is an attack which seeks to destroy the constitutional balance of federal and state power and to deal a death blow to the states as political entities.

THOSE now attempting to make cloture easier, and thus ultimately destroy freedom of debate in the Senate, complain that Standing Rule XXII in its application thwarts the wishes of the majority. However, authoritative observers of the American legislative process hold that a *determined* majority of senators can find ways of passing any measure it desires without resorting to changing the very character and complexion of the Senate itself. Ample means are available at present to overcome what a majority at any time may feel to be needless obstruction in debate. Whenever any issue of overriding importance to the welfare of the nation arises, debate has been and will be limited accordingly.

Standing Rule XXII of the Senate permits limitation of debate by two-thirds of the Senate membership (64 senators) two days after a petition has been submitted by 16 senators. Thereafter debate is limited to one hour for each Senator. Cloture cannot and should not be applied to a proposal to change the Senate's rules.

The ultimate objective of opponents of free debate in the Senate is cloture by a simple majority vote of senators *present at any given time*. Adoption of such a rule would make it possible for 25 out of 96 senators, a majority of a quorum, *to impose gag rule*. The only protection remaining for States which find themselves from time to time in the minority on any given issue in the Senate is a *safe* two-thirds rule on limiting debate.

Our wise founding fathers were aware that the excesses of democracy can be as fearful in their consequences as the excesses of totalitarianism. To safeguard against both extremes they gave us our *republican* form of government, with its delicately contrived system of checks and balances of which freedom of debate in the Senate is at least an implied, if not actual, part. Through the medium of free debate, the Senate thus provides the machinery by which all measures affecting the lives, fortunes and honor of the American people in *every* state can be put to the critical test of unhurried examination by the collective intellect of a body expressly created as *one* of our governmental checks and balances.

If minority rights are trampled in the Senate, there is only one remaining remedy available to those who do not happen to be with the majority; affiliation with a multi-

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plicity of splinter parties. No greater catastrophe could befall our country than such enforced destruction of the two-party system and substitution of a countless number of political parties (as in France). Under such circumstances a small militant minority, exercising the balance of power, could be catapulted into a position of leadership where it could inflict great harm on Constitutional government and democratic processes.

UNION, not division, has been the Senate goal. The right of every senator to freedom of debate is the great buffer which protects both the smaller and larger states from imposing upon each other. Freedom of senate debate is the only effective screen which the people have against hidden defects, both unintentional and calculated, which can escape detection in the hasty process of passage by the House of Representatives.

Jefferson wrote in his Manual of Parliamentary Procedure: "The rules of the Senate which allow full freedom of debate are designed for protection of the minority, and this design is a part of the warp and woof of our Constitution. *You cannot remove it without damaging the whole fabric.* Therefore, before tampering with this right, we should assure ourselves that what is lost will not be greater than what is gained."

Another phase of this controversy is whether the United States Senate is a *continuing* body and whether the Senate is the sole judge of the rules under which it functions. There can be only one answer in the light of history: our Senate has functioned though wise and just rules that have withstood the tortuous tests of historical American time.

It is argued by the opponents of free debate that the Senate of the United States is the only place in the world where the gag rule does not prevail. My answer is: "So What!" The patriots who established *this* Republic were free men and did not elect to copy the governments of foreign lands where freedom either did not exist or came and went with the political tide.

One reason given by those advocating that the Senate of the United States surrender its freedom of debate is that the House of Commons of the British Parliament has done so. What they either forget or choose deliberately to ignore is that much of the difficulty experienced by Great Britain as a nation, and as a world power, has stemmed directly from the loss of freedom of debate in the House of Commons and in a steady diminution in the powers of the House of Lords.

The British system of government is not and never has been comparable to the Constitutional system of government created here. *Every* right the Englishman has is

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at the mercy of mere majority in the House of Commons.

THE SENATE is the *repository of State Sovereignty* on the national level. The smaller states of our Union rightly were given equal representation in the Senate, but this influence can be dissipated in direct proportion to the degree of any revision of Rule XXII.

During the last quarter of a century we have seen an unending encroachment on the powers of Congress by both the Executive and Judicial Branches. One by one its powers and the prerogatives of its members have been dissipated either by delegation or acquiescence. Congressional powers over the purse, over patronage, over the budget, over trade, over war powers and all other phases of government operation have slipped away or have been greatly reduced. It is time to reverse this trend. The proper place to start is by refusing to surrender the right of freedom of speech on the floor of the Senate.

We must not lose sight of a few simple facts about the origin and composition of the Senate. It is impossible to apply to the Senate, with any degree of accuracy, the principle of *popular* majority rule as we usually consider it. The very composition of the United States Senate where *all* States are equally represented, each having two votes, prevents such an application. It is possible for various combinations of 40 Senators to represent anywhere from 20 to 80 percent of the population of the nation.

All of the great injustices of history have been committed in the name of unchecked and unbridled "majority rule". The late Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, in one of the most forceful speeches ever delivered before the Senate, observed with great truth: "The *majority* crucified Jesus Christ; the *majority* burned the Christians at the stake; the *majority* established slavery; the *majority* jeered when Columbus said the world was round; the *majority* threw him into a dungeon for having discovered a new world; the *majority* cut off the ears of John Pym because he dared advocate the liberty of the press."

Have we forgotten that everyone, at one time or another, belongs to a minority? Have we lost sight of the unchanging truth that unbridled majority sway without proper restraint is mob rule? Are our memories so short that we have forgotten the maxim that free government, by destroying dissenting opinion, thereby destroys itself?

With unlimited debate in the United States Senate, all Americans have the assurance that no act jeopardizing their rights will ever be proposed without *some* member of the Senate having the *opportunity to resist it and to warn the nation of its consequences.*

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By Edgar F. Smith

Constitutional Limitations

The federal government's powers must be limited if we are to preserve the liberties of the people and the rights of the states

TO UNDERSTAND why certain powers were delegated to the federal government and why certain Constitutional limitations were placed on its power, we need to recall something of the terrible conditions that existed in our land immediately prior to the time the Constitution was written.

Under the Articles of Confederation the Continental Congress had no real power. It could make treaties in the name of the United States, but the sovereign states that constituted the Confederation known as the United States could, and did, ignore those treaties. The Continental Congress had no power to collect taxes and was dependent upon the states for funds; it sought to obtain these funds by making requisitions on the states. Washington wrote: "Requisitions are a perfect nullity where thirteen sovereign, independent, disunited states are in the habit of discussing and refusing compliance." Madison wrote: "Payments from the states under the calls of Congress" were not "equal to the interest on the foreign debts, nor even to the current expenses" of the Continental Congress.

Jefferson wrote that the continental scrip "fell to 1000 for 1" for gold. There was at least one instance when $5,000 of this scrip sold for one dollar in gold. Currency authorized by one state was greatly discounted in the state which issued it, and in some instances was not accepted at any price in other states. Mr. Jefferson sold some land partly on credit. When the debt became due, he wrote that the currency he received in payment of the debt "was not worth oak leaves." It became almost impossible for the Confederation, the states, or for wealthy individuals to borrow money from Europe. Trade and commerce with foreign nations, between the states, and among individuals, almost ceased to exist. Inflation was rampant, and there were those who wanted more inflation. There was great distress among the people. Insurrection

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threatened in the New England states.

General Washington was asked to use his influence to restore law and order. He replied: "Influence is no government. Let us have one by which our lives, liberties, and properties will be secured, or let us know the worst at once." A month later when conditions had worsened and Shays's rebellion had become a menace to the very existence of any government in Massachusetts, the captain of our liberty wrote: "No morn ever dawned more favorably than ours did; and no day was ever more clouded than the present. . . . We are fast verging on anarchy."

Daniel Shays was a Massachusetts farmer. He answered the patriot call from Lexington at the beginning of the American Revolution. He fought at Bunker Hill, Ticonderoga, Saratoga, and Stony Point. He was made a captain of the 5th Massachusetts Regiment in 1777. Because of the distress of the farmers, caused by inflation and the high cost of living, he led a movement which proposed that more paper money be printed. Then, as now, it was sought to halt the evils of inflation by doing that which would cause more inflation. He and his followers, who at one time numbered 16,000 men, were in debt; to prevent foreclosures on their property they forced the lower courts of Massachusetts to close; a little later they compelled the Supreme Court of Massachusetts to adjourn. Shays's Rebellion was not suppressed until 1787, and not then until battles were fought in Springfield and Petersham, Massachusetts.

People in other states were also in distress, and everywhere in our country there was a definite threat to the existence of all orderly government. The authority of the law could nowhere be stronger than each individual state was prepared to make it.

EARLY in 1786, Virginia requested all the states to send delegates to Annapolis for the purpose of considering the creation of a "uniform system of taxation in their commercial intercourse and regulations." Only twelve men came as delegates to Annapolis, and these came from only five states, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New York, and Virginia. Apparently nothing could be accomplished with only a minority of the states represented. But one of the delegates, Alexander Hamilton of New York, who was then 29 years old, drew up a draft of an address to all the states, an address that was signed by all the delegates, requesting that all states send delegates to a convention to meet on the second Monday in May 1787 at Philadelphia to consider making certain revisions in the Articles of Confederation.

Had it not been for the fear

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created by Shays's Rebellion, which had reached its peak following the Annapolis meeting, most of the states would probably have been as indifferent to the convention called to meet at Philadelphia as they had been to the Annapolis convention. Aroused by fear of anarchy, the almost complete destruction of trade and commerce, and the terrible evil of inflation—caused by a paper currency that was not redeemable in anything except more paper—all the states except Rhode Island sent delegates to Philadelphia.

The Articles of Confederation which had been ratified for the states by their respective legislative bodies provided that no change could be made in said Articles without the approval of all the states.

THE DELEGATES at Philadelphia, having decided on a bold course of action, proceeded to ignore the Articles of Confederation and to write a Constitution which would make the United States a nation with the power to act directly on the people, to collect taxes for its own support and to provide for the common defense and general welfare of the government of the United States; and vested in Congress the power to make all laws "which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution" the powers "vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."

The delegates at Philadelphia decided to by-pass the legislative bodies of the several states and to submit the Constitution for approval or rejection to the people acting by delegates or agents elected by them to state conventions.

There was powerful opposition against the proposed Constitution because it did not contain a Bill of Rights, and because of the belief of many delegates that its adoption would result in the destruction of the state governments. The Constitution was at first rejected by Rhode Island and North Carolina, but both states came into the Union after General Washington became president. In the New York convention, the Constitution was ratified by a margin of two votes.

In the Virginia convention, Patrick Henry thundered against ratification of the Constitution with all the power of his great eloquence. His objections were twofold: the proposed Constitution did not adequately protect the natural rights of the people by a Bill of Rights, nor did it affirmatively protect the rights of the states. He offered a Bill of Rights and other amendments clarifying the respective powers of the federal and state governments, and proposed that these amendments be referred to the other states "for consideration, previous to its (Constitution's) ratification by Virginia."

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The proponents of the proposed Constitution argued that there was no need for any of the amendments offered by Patrick Henry, because, by the very terms of the proposed Constitution, the federal government would be a government of delegated and limited powers and could not exercise any powers other than those delegated to it by the Constitution. (James Madison was one of the proponents of the Constitution in the Virginia convention. It is an historical fact that, as President, he strictly adhered to the doctrine that the federal government could exercise no powers other than those enumerated in the Constitution.) When this argument of the proponents of the Constitution failed to convince a majority of the delegates to the convention, the proponents of the Constitution in order to avoid the long delay in Virginia's ratification of the Constitution, inherent in Henry's proposal of amending the proposed Constitution before ratification, offered a resolution, to be coupled with ratification, requesting the first Congress to submit a Constitutional Bill of Rights for the people and for the states. This resolution was adopted, and after its adoption the Virginia convention ratified the Constitution by a majority of eight votes out of 168.

THE DEBATE in the Virginia convention was one of the greatest on the subject of government of which we have any record. The record of this debate is to be found in *The History of the Virginia Convention of 1788,* by Hugh Blair Grigsby, and there is a short, graphic, and partisan story of the debate in Volume 1 of Albert Beveridge's *The Life of John Marshall.* The record of the ratification proceedings in all the states can be found in *The Debates of the Several State Conventions of the Adoption of the Federal Constitution,* compiled by Jonathan Elliott.

The first Congress submitted many amendments to the Constitution and of those submitted ten were ratified. These ten amendments contain many Constitutional limitations on the powers of the United States; collectively, these ten amendments are known as the Bill of Rights.

The Tenth Amendment establishes well defined and well marked boundary lines dividing the powers of the federal and state governments. It declares: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

When on December 15, 1791, the first ten amendments became a part of the Constitution of the United States, Patrick Henry gained everything he had so valiantly fought for in the Virginia convention of 1788. He became a strong and steadfast supporter of the Constitu-

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tion. Strange, indeed, is the fact that the pseudoliberals of today condemn the true liberalism of Patrick Henry as "toryism."

The Constitutional limitations on the powers of the federal government, contained in the very terms of the Constitution and in the first ten amendments thereto, if strictly observed, will continue to enable all citizens to enjoy the liberties and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution—liberty and freedom of trade and commerce and travel; to own and use property; to plant, to sow, and to reap; to work; freedom of press, speech, and religion; liberty to use such talents as we may have as we choose to use them; freedom not to conform to the pseudo liberalism that is ruining our country. The Constitutional limitations on the powers of the federal government will, if strictly observed, protect us in our right under natural law to think, say, and do whatever we choose—so long as we do not im-

The Question Before The People

It begins to look as though the one great question to come before the people during 1958 will be the matter of the continued existence of the nation as an aggregation of quasi-independent states with a limited Central Government as originally set up and intended.

The fact is that when the Constitution first went into effect in 1789—as the creation of the thirteen original States—it instituted a government of delegated authority only. Whenever a given territory was later granted statehood on the authority of Washington, the proposed new State was first required to draft and submit an individual Constitution *as the basic law of the proposed new State,* which, when approved by the central government, became an inviolate contract or agreement as between that particular State and the central authority. Therefore, when the Government in Washington undertakes to violate the provisions of any such fundamental agreement between itself and an individual State, it is not only guilty of an unwarranted breach of confidence as between itself and that particular State, but its act of repudiation, whether expressed or implied, is null and void under the simple law of contracts as applied in every jurisdiction in the English speaking world. A law is a law, and a contract is a contract and cannot be violated with impunity between the central government and a State any more than a simple contract can be violated between individuals resident in any of the States.

By STANLEY MACDONALD
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

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pinge upon or restrict the equal rights of another.

THE LEGISLATIVE and executive departments of the federal government have been whittling away the Constitutional limitations that protect the liberties of the people and the reserved powers of the states for at least 40 years. In more recent years the judges of the Supreme Court have by interpretations of the Constitution greatly impaired the liberties of the people and have practically destroyed the reserved powers of the States in certain important particulars and have done this in direct violation of certain Constitutional limitations upon the powers of the courts.

No longer does the Court follow the correct rule announced by Chief Justice Hughes in the Bituminous Coal Act case in which he declared that "it is not for the Court to amend the Constitution by judicial decision."

The liberties and freedoms of the people and the rights of the states are dependent on keeping intact all the Constitutional limitations on the powers of the federal government. It was never truer than now that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Reuther's Pattern

By Senator John Marshall Butler

Reuther follows a familiar pattern. He *always* initiates negotiations with the most profitable firms in the industry, discusses their ability to pay and presents elaborate statistics to show that they earn a higher rate of return on their investment than the average manufacturer. He attempts to marshal public opinion in support of this position. His pleas are directed to community leaders—including the clergy, educators, legislators, and the executive branch of the Government.

If history repeats itself, however, and Reuther succeeds in securing concessions from the three leading firms, he will *then* approach the remaining companies with whom the UAW has contracts, including hundreds of suppliers to "the big three," and demand identically the same concessions on the basis that the new agreement has established a "standard" for the industry.

I am convinced that he regards the bargaining table as a platform for the acquisition of political power. His statements clearly show that if he were in a position of greater political power, he would attempt to destroy competitive capitalism.

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This Is What They Said

► Senator Symington to Thomas Lanphier, Vice President of the Convair Company, builders of the Atlas ICBM: "Mr. Lanphier, I think . . . the so-called ballistic missile was started in 1946 and cancelled in 1947 when the Army Air Corps was part of the Army . . . Is that correct?"

Mr. Lanphier: "Yes, sir. We checked the records before we came and it was July of 1947."

Senator Symington: "At which time, I think the record should show that the Chief of Staff of the Army was General Eisenhower . . ."—from Congressional records

► While we were standing still last year, industrial production in Soviet Russia continued the headlong *expansion* which has been so much more rapid than ours ever since 1945.

The free world must base its fight for freedom squarely on the *productivity* of the American economy. None of us doubts that America's free economic system can outproduce Soviet Russia. But it will take leadership that insists on moving forward and moving steadily and swiftly. There is nothing in the President's economic report to indicate that there is any understanding of the immensity and *urgency* of the challenge our economy faces. It is time that American leadership faces up to this paradox of idleness by more than one-third of our steel industry, nearly half of our auto capacity, and more than 4 million productive American workers at the very time when we confront our sternest military and economic tests.—Congressman William Proxmire

► In my considered opinion, there has never been a time in my long memory when so many of the members of Congress have been chained creatures of evil influences and groups such as Reuther's CIO Political Action Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, B'nai B'rith and its Anti-Defamation League, American Civil Liberties Union and many others.—U.S. General Eugene S. Bibb, Retired

► Who wins youth wins the future America.—Earl Browder

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► Stalin turned on Zionism and died. Russian delegates to the Zionist super government continue to hobnob and fraternize with American delegates and Russia still dominates the United Nations with its veto power. The Nuremberg trials killed off German leaders and the Morgenthau plan buried Germany and gave Russia our money plates. Baruch wants Russia to share the A and H bombs.

Zionism is not Judaism. It is a terroristic political program. Palestine is not a refuge for poor Jews. It is an investment for about 1,500 American stockholders in the Palestine Economic Corporation and the chemical trust of England that owns nearly everything of value there. A million Jews were driven there to protect these properties.

Zionism doesn't mean Palestine alone. It means the U.S. and the world. —HENRY H. KLEIN

► Alien traitors have put us in a spot. Now, "Let's get America back." —RUSSELL MAGUIRE

► Communism becomes unusually eloquent in recommending peaceful coexistence with the free world after it has overrun, nationalized, and expropriated everything within reach and requires a period of calm to attend to internal difficulties and in order to build up strength for further conquests.—By DR. PETER ZENKI, former Lord Mayor of Prague and Vice-Premier of Czechoslovakia

► Do the reverse of what your foe wishes. (Patriots should remember this! Ed)—NAPOLEON I

► Let's declare a moratorium on all debts, public and private, payable in lawful money of the U.S.A. until such time that Congress shall have enacted a Constitutional Currency system, free from usury in any form or amount, paid (not loaned) into circulation, and stabilized with respect to the uniform purchasing, debt-paying and tax-paying value of the dollar.—SYDNEY H. FOSTER

► Latest reports to my office in the Pentagon indicate that the Wright Brothers original aircraft is no longer flying. I can also add that the last time I was in the Smithsonian Institution, I saw Lindbergh's famous "Spirit of St. Louis" hanging from the ceiling. Some day, and it may not be too far away, the aircraft we are using today will also be relegated to museums . . . as will the *first* relics recovered from *outer space*.—GENERAL THOMAS B. WHITE, Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force

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WE ARE STEWARDS OF OUR STATES' *Inheritance*

by J. Lindsay Almond Jr.
Governor of Virginia

This Nation's power to resist external aggression and preserve domestic tranquility depends on the integrity and strength of the States

We are, all of us, stewards of our inheritance, charged with conserving the best of a magnificent past, and charged also with bringing a new vision to the problems of our own time. These contemporary problems are difficult problems. None of them is easy.

As citizens of the United States, we must acknowledge soberly the global dangers that confront us and bring to the defense of the Nation, without reservation, all the loyalty, devotion, and courage that are within us. To those undertakings that are properly Federal in their character, we owe our obedience and support; this allegiance must be given with our whole hearts.

Yet we are citizens not only of the United States. Ours is a Union of Federated States, bound together by a compact to which the States alone are parties; and the strength of this Union lies in the nature of the Union. I think the phrase "States' Rights" is much abused; what we are speaking of, more often than not, is of State *powers*, and what we should be equally concerned with, in the years that lie immediately ahead, is with State *responsibilities*.

This Republic is a Union of Federated States. That is what it was in the beginning; that is what it is now, and the passage of 170 years, the adoption of various amendments to our basic compact, the waging of a tragic civil war, have not altered the original structure of this Nation. If the constitutional position asserted by the Southern States is to be understood abroad in the land, these plain and unequivocal facts of history must be understood. They do not seem to me so complex.

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In the beginning were the sovereign States—the "free and independent States" described by Jefferson in the document cherished by Americans everywhere—the States that voluntarily formed themselves into a *limited* union, the better to resist the mightiest power of the Eighteenth century. As separate states, united for certain purposes only, they waged that war and won it; and still as separate states, they sent to Philadelphia delegates who there embarked upon the task of creating a more perfect union.

OUT OF their deliberation came the Constitution, which remains the supreme law of the land to this day. It was, and is, a magnificent work of statecraft, a towering example of political design. I think of the Constitution sometimes as I think of a great bridge, soaring above the passing river of everyday life, a thing of strength, a thing of beauty. Resting upon solid foundations of political principle, the Constitution lifts its exposed beams and girders to the sky. It is a bridge that will bear *any* weight, *any* strain, now and forever—so long as its basic structure is left unimpaired.

The states—sovereign entities—created from the reservoir of their own sovereignty a central government and conveyed upon it a unique sovereignty not paralleled elsewhere in the world. To their common government, the states delegated (not surrendered, but merely delegated) certain of their own powers; and by mutual consent, they reserved unto themselves, through plain words and phrases, the exercise of certain other powers; and finally, with meticulous care and providential foresight, they wrote into the basic law two express reservations. One of these went to the rights of men: the enduring liberties of the people were never to be construed away. The other went to the powers of States: these residuary powers, neither delegated by the Constitution to the central government, nor denied by the Constitution to the States, were to be ever *reserved* to the States respectively.

These careful provisions, demanded by Virginia in her very act of ratification, were intended to foreclose pressures for strained and capricious construction of the Constitution. It was thought that in this fashion the organic law would be rendered immune to the gravitations of political expediency, and to the engraftment of personal and sociological predilections by judicial legislation.

It was confidently believed that chains had in fact been placed securely upon the newly-created central government, and that the instrument would remain responsive only to the expressed will of the people acting in their respective States.

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TODAY, we face an ever-deepening constitutional crisis. Its scope and devastating effect are not limited to particular states or to any single region. New Hampshire and Pennsylvania are told they may not inquire, as states, into possible subversion. Nebraska is told she may not protect a citizen from the tyranny of compulsory unionism. New Mexico and California are told they cannot fix qualifications for practice at the Bar. Illinois is rebuked in her State rules of appellate procedure. Michigan is prevented from ousting two local officials charged with crime. New York is told she cannot fire a professor who refused to answer certain questions under oath, lest truthful answers tend to incriminate him. Oregon is inhibited in the regulation of non-navigable waters within her own borders. In the teeth of history and in contempt of long-established Constitutionally-sanctioned law, the Southern States are advised that an amendment of 1868 really was intended to prohibit to them the power to operate racially separate schools. This was discovered 86 years after the amendment was ratified.

With the soothing assurance that this is all for our own good, our judicial surgeons have prescribed a massive political blood-letting; and it is not the South only that is being leeched: it is the whole body of the Republic. Weakened by this cynical phlebotomy, ennervated by sweet anesthetic, the states gradually are declining to the insignificant role of dependent Federal satellites—mere municipal provinces of Washington, suburbs of the Capital. They are being drained of the vitality that has contributed so greatly to the Nation's strength, and the pity is that an apathetic people is indifferent to the enveloping evil.

I do not think the people of Virginia are indifferent! They have not exhibited indifference these past three years. They have exhibited, on the contrary, by their own expression at the polls and through their representatives in the Assembly and in Constitutional Convention, not a willingness to surrender to usurped authority, but a determination to resist.

On November 5, 1957, the people of Virginia, with overwhelming voice, gave expression to their profound conviction that *principle cannot be compromised,* and that rights and powers cannot be abandoned, without forsaking every hope for their revival and re-establishment. I interpret and I accept that expression as a mandate to the General Assembly and the Chief Executive to defend and preserve the inherent powers of Virginia's sovereign statehood. I shall exercise every honorable means at my command in the observance of that mandate and in the execution of that trust.

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It will be said that I am here referring only to the maintenance of a resolute defense against the catastrophe that threatens to overwhelm our public schools. I would not have the policy so limited. The importance and gravity of this crisis far transcend considerations of race and public education. Nor is my concern only for the integrity of the States; *it is for the integrity of the Union also;* and for the security and well-being of our whole people. The potential of this Republic to resist external aggression, and the capacity of our central government to preserve domestic tranquillity, evolve from and depend upon the continuing integrity of its structural components.

I am dedicated to the cause of public education in Virginia. I want to see every child possessing the capacity and will to learn, afforded the best educational opportunities this Commonwealth can provide, irrespective of race or color. The processes of sound education that have been important in the past seem to me imperative now. The well-being of the state, the security of the nation, even the survival of western civilization, depend to a large degree upon the education of the coming generation. In guiding our children along this urgent path, our public schools, in the familiar image, are like lamps. I deplore the very thought that even one of these should ever be dimmed or extinguished, however briefly. I am determined to do everything within my power to promote and sustain an efficient, progressive, and well-functioning system of public free schools throughout Virginia.

Yet, in approaching this critical matter, we must face certain facts squarely: the people of Virginia are overwhelmingly in favor of sound public education; the people of Virginia are overwhelmingly against racial integration of the public schools. These two convictions are mutually exclusive. The society in which we live demands that education reflect a spirit of progress and advancement. On a racially mixed basis, progress and advancement are utterly impossible in the public schools of Virginia today.

THOUSANDS UPON thousands of Virginia parents simply will not send their children to racially integrated schools; they have made this clear in every way it is possible for them to do so. By an act of the special session of the Assembly, no child may be compelled to attend such a school. Even if this were not so, it would be absolute folly for the state to attempt such *compulsion*. The result of forced integration would be half-schools or quarter-schools or no schools, struggling for survival in communities torn by dissension. There could be no education, in any meaningful

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sense of the word, under these circumstances. And, to paraphrase a great statesman, I say that I have not been elected Governor to preside over the liquidation of Virginia's schools.

So long as ours is a system of state public schools, financed in large part by state funds, administered by a state agency under a State Superintendent of Public Instruction, there must be one State policy in this regard. Section 140 of our State Constitution prohibits the teaching of white and Negro children in the same classroom anywhere in Virginia; and while I am told this has been voided by action of the Supreme Court of the United States, I know it has *not* been voided by any action of the whole people of Virginia. Legally, section 140 may not exist; but as an expression of statewide policy, satisfactory to the people of this state for a period of more than 80 years, section 140 remains a useful guide. To sanction any plan which would legalize the mixing of races in our schools would violate the clear and unmistakable mandate of the people. This I cannot do.

ONE MEASURE, however, I do recommend for immediate adoption. The preservation of public peace and good order is historically and constitutionally a state function and not a Federal function. This function I do not propose to yield. Nothing could be more provocative of civil strife and unrest, nor more conducive to racial tension and violence, than the patrolling of public school property by armed forces of the United States. No public school can function at the point of a bayonet. Therefore, I recommend to the consideration of the General Assembly the enactment of a law expressly authorizing the Governor to order the suspension of the operation of any public school whenever and wherever military forces may be employed by Federal authority to police an operation.

I cannot leave this lamentable subject without one further word. I am keenly conscious that, as Governor of Virginia, I am Governor for all the people of Virginia, white and negro alike. To the negro people I would say this: I cannot agree to any program of integration of the schools, for the overriding Constitutional and social reasons I have attempted to set forth; yet I would express my profound hope that in the months ahead we may explore other areas of mutual concern, involving state services, with greater hope for resolving divisive issues in a spirit of unity and good will. I pledge my unremitting efforts, also, toward the end that educational opportunities, though separate, will be *fully equal,* and I call upon all our citizens who desire an effective and efficient system of education, available to all our children, to lend

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their aid and cooperation in this vital undertaking.

It is unoriginal to say that "we live in a perilous time, and a great challenge lies before us." We have heard the admonition so many times that peril has lost its meaning, and challenge has lost its cutting edge. Yet the awesome, chilling truth is that our peril is indeed great: Russia has already demonstrated her power to deliver a major instantaneous attack; it would be folly to treat as mere sham the threat of her masters to "bury us."

WE ARE familiar with Wellington's famed remark that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton; we must see to it that the mastery of space is not won in the Communist schools of Moscow. The demands of long range technology, not merely in terms of our happiness and security but in the terms of survival itself, can be met only through properly educated men and women.

The common defense and general welfare are responsibilities of the Federal government. *Education remains one of the most important functions of state and local government.* The direction and control of the classroom is a prerogative of the state. The state, therefore, controls the source of supply of advanced scientists needed for the present and future defense of the country, as well as for the broader programs of this competitive industrial age.

The rights pertaining to state sovereignty, about which we are so deeply concerned, are invested with corresponding responsibilities. Failure of the state properly to bear these responsibilities creates a vacuum and invites the exercise of invading Federal authority. Failure of the state to exercise its rights, in time of need, is tantamount to their abandonment. The greatest and most sincere demonstration, economically, politically and socially, which can be made at this time for the retention of our rights, would be assumption of state responsibility in the field of education in the present national crisis.

UNESCO PRIZES

Prizes awarded by UNESCO (one a trip to Europe) to our school children, given to those knowing the most about UNESCO, should be prohibited, unless equal recognition and education be given to those in our public schools who learn and know the most about our Constitution and American way of life.

If teaching communism or socialistic internationalism is construed as a basic American right, then so should teaching of the American way of life, and the facts pointed out as to which is more desirable.

—From *Voters U.S.A.*

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a nation under God

by Kenneth Goff

THE Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, able pastor of the National Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., made this noteworthy statement concerning the religious tendencies of our nation: *"The truth of the matter is that no one can understand the United States except in terms of religion. America began in a spiritual quest. We achieved national existence by way of spiritual emancipation. We have survived because we are a religious people. When Americans act any other way than as a religious people they are not truly themselves."*

Bound up in this statement is the truth that we as well as foreigners must come to realize: America is a nation under God. For thousands of years this great wilderness was hidden to civilization, nurtured by God, with great resources and the bounties of heaven, as a blessing for mankind.

For freedom of religion our founding fathers came to the New England shores. Their planting at Plymouth Rock *was a Church*—not a town; not a colony; not a trading or exploring venture; not a gold rush, *but a Church*. The inscription which appeared upon the bell that rang out the birth of this nation is found in the Word of God: ". . . proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof . . ." (Lev. 25:10).

Before the Pilgrims landed they called a solemn convocation in the Mayflower's cabin, and drew up the Mayflower Compact—"solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and of one another." It was a distinct and solemn pact, through which they were establishing the most lasting government in the world's history that would derive its power solely from the people—a government by laws and not by men.

The congress of the United States is opened in prayer to Almighty God and His Son Jesus Christ. We should hang our heads in shame that we were fooled into permitting the anti-Christian U.N. to come into our country and eliminate Christian prayer. Each man who serves as President of the United States or as a member of our Supreme Court is first sworn

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in on the Christian Bible. We have inscribed upon our money, "In God We Trust." We sing, in our anthem: *"Long may our land be bright, with freedom's holy light; protect us by thy might, great God our King."*

All our calendars mark Sunday, the Lord's Day, and every governmental office observes that day of Christian rest and prayer. We are the only nation wherein the flag of the Christian Church is permitted by law to fly at the same level with the national flag.

We as a nation set aside one day each year for thanksgiving and praise unto Almighty God. We are a nation which observes the birth, death and resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ. We dateline all our public documents with the Year of our Lord. We as a nation send chaplains, ministers of the gospel, into battle with our fighting men whenever war is forced upon us.

Ours is a nation in which all Church property is free from governmental taxes; our income tax is so arranged that we can deduct the tithe that we give to our Church. In our land we can find a Bible in nearly every hotel room.

America's religious nature is no accident. Yet we have permitted aliens in our midst to warp and weaken our religious activities. However, in time we will free ourselves of the Anti-Christ forces who betray our hospitality and we will rebuild America according to God's Plan.

Congress Must Make Defense Wholly American

The problem before Congress, as I see it, is not only to give the armed forces the money they need to get the newest technological weapons. Far more important, it is the duty of Congress to make sure our defense forces have an *American* political and governmental setup, in which to work. Our military establishment must be *wholly American,* from the highest ranks in Washington, to the farthest outposts of our power, in Europe, Asia, Africa or the stratosphere.

We can spend billions on defense, we can have the ablest and most devoted military leaders in the world, but we cannot have military *security* for the United States—and we cannot block Soviet attempts at conquest—unless we, the Congress and the people, free our military leaders from the political yokes of internationalism; unless we return to the Constitutional mandate of American national defense, under purely American direction, with one purpose only, the safeguarding of America.

—SENATOR WILLIAM E. JENNER

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WHY RUSSIA IS AHEAD

Five years of strict scientific security would give the United States military superiority over Russia

by Walter S. Steele

BETWEEN March 4, 1933, and January 20, 1953, the United States Government was in the hands of eager pro-Communists. Everybody liked Old Joe Stalin.

By packing all our Washington administrative agencies with Communists and dedicated fellow-travelers, the New Deal gave Russia every American industrial discovery, every secret weapon, including parts needed for the *sputniks,* transistors, resistors, and connectors, delivered to Russia every resource of the fabulous American economy, including more than $12-billions in direct lend-lease shipments.

Moscow got our proximity fuse, our Norden bomb sight.

American pro-Communists in the Allied Occupation Government in Germany delivered to Russia in 1945 the cream of the captive German missile scientists.

For five years, this same secret oligarchy of pro-Communist Americans in the Occupation Government permitted Russia to strip Germany of her laboratories, missile and armament factories, machines, railroad equipment, and chemical processes—all in the name of Yalta and "reparations."

Henry Wallace opened the U.S. Patent Office to Moscow to permit direct shipment to Russia of every U.S. industrial and manufacturing formula developed over the last century.

Under this Wallace program, hundreds of Russian survey teams were planted in thousands of our principal industrial plants—all expenses paid—as "technological exchange observers."

In these five years, 1945-50, the U.S. served up to Moscow on a silver platter every secret and every accomplishment of our bountiful American capitalist technology.

In those same years, systematic communist industrial espionage, unhindered and unobstructed by New Deal policy, penetrated every industrial research laboratory in the free world, particularly in the

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United States, England and Canada.

It is no surprise, therefore, that Russia is fully abreast of us in jets and missile technology.

For ten terrible years, America was systematically drained from within of her every technological accomplishment and advantage.

THE NEW DEAL wisely contrived its own fantastic systems of military secrecy to keep all new knowledge from the American people, while at the same time opening every avenue of access to Communist infiltrators.

Now we are told by these same New Deal eggheads that we must reverse the whole educational system of freedom, to make it more like the Russian! We are told that the American taxpayers must pay by sweat for the folly of our own political leaders.

The truth is, all we need to do is to close our doors to Russia for five years. Then we would be five years ahead again.

America was not out-distanced. America simply was betrayed—delivered in a package to world-wrecking Communism by the New Deal.

From the National Republic

A Strange Atomic Coincidence

The first general manager, under Roosevelt, of our Atomic Energy program was *Bernard Baruch*. Later came *David Lilienthal,* under whom *Klaus Fuchs* was brought in. *Fuchs* was convicted of giving our secrets to Russian spies and was deported. *Lilienthal* slithered out of the AEC just before *Fuchs* was caught and evidently has never been questioned. *Fuchs* was followed by *J. Robert Oppenheimer,* who was found to be a security risk and removed. *Openheimer's* place was filled by *Isador Isaac Rabi,* of Columbia University, who was a roommate of *Klaus Fuchs* at Los Alamos, and chief advisor to *Lewis Strauss,* present head of AEC, and now chief atomic and missile adviser to Eisenhower—by White House appointment.

If Eisenhower has been kept in the dark, *Isador Isaac Rabi* did it, along with others. An Austrian Jew, in 1946 he aided the committee advocating that nuclear weapons be destroyed, that our stockpile of atom bombs be thrown into the ocean and that all equipment necessary to the making of our nuclear weapons, such as uranium, be destroyed. He organized the Atoms for Peace Conference at Geneva—a scheme to share our atomic secrets with other nations. The head of the Atoms for Peace Committee today is a Czechoslovakian Communist.

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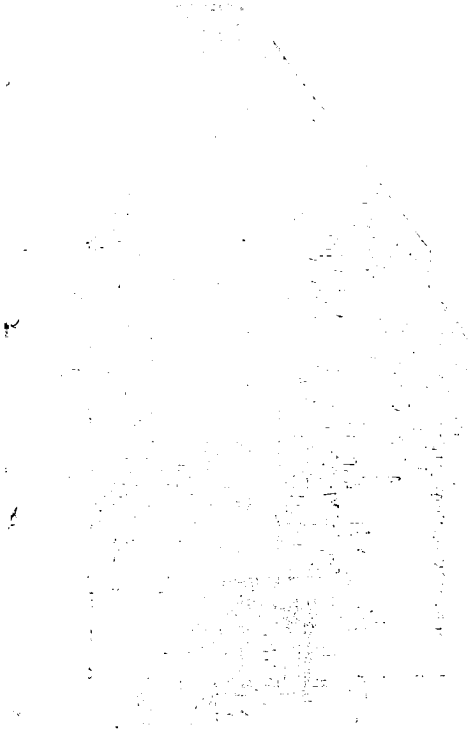
Why are We Changing Churches?

by **Roland Gammon**

More Americans are changing their religious affiliations than ever before in our history



"YES, Jim and I changed churches when we moved out into the suburbs last fall and found a perfectly wonderful community church right in our neighborhood." A Detroit housewife and mother of three small children was explaining how she and her husband suddenly switched from one denomination to another.

She found herself more at home in her new church than in the old.

"It wasn't an easy decision for either of us to make," two young San Franciscans told me. "Yet, despite our religious differences, we were married on Thanksgiving by a justice of the peace. It wasn't until last week that we finally joined Carol's church in order not to offend her parents."

Church-changing decisions like these are part of a little-known,

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little-understood religious trend, which in recent years has swollen to nation-wide proportions. In fact, in the booming, bountiful America of 1958, more Americans are changing churches than ever before in our history.

Traditionally, in our society, persons born into a religion remain in it throughout their lives. The majority of Americans still do. But, increasing phenomenally since World War II and matching the 25-million jump in new members, the 50-million weekly church attendance and the three-billion-dollar construction of new religious buildings, is the number of Americans *changing* their church homes.

THE REASONS for this mid-century phenomenon are peculiarly American. And, as I discovered in a coast-to-coast sampling of churchgoers, they are as varied as spiritual experience itself:

1. A shifting population and changes in social environment.
2. Proximity of the "new" church.
3. Mixed marriages.
4. Religious education of the children.
5. Influence of friends and "keeping up with the Joneses."
6. Appeal of the minister and the church program.
7. Theological or dogmatic factors.
8. Search for a more satisfying religious philosophy.

In the past decade, this combination of influences has caused an estimated 10,000,000 Americans to change their church affiliation. Variations on the theme are endless.

Kansas realtor J. H. Salley has changed denominations several times—from Missionary Baptist to Church of Christ to Disciples of Christ—and today he is an ardent Methodist. Now living in Liberal and spending many of his off-business hours in charity work, layman Salley credits his "church-minded folks, Methodist wife and the denomination's emphasis on the good life" for his present devotion.

"As far back as I can remember," he says, "my parents were active in the church. First, in the rural Baptist where some of those old 'fire-and-brimstone' preachers were so scary I couldn't sleep at night; then, in central Kansas, where in the ultra-conservative Christian church we all became 'non-fiddling Christians'; and still later at Kingman when I was baptized or, as those good folks called it, 'took the order of the bath' in the Disciples of Christ.

"It wasn't until my college days in the mid-twenties that I shucked off much of the old orthodoxy. I went into the real estate business here in Liberal. I found the Methodist church and its minister most sympathetic to my views, so I joined up."

Two other typical Americans, both widely separated in place, profession and Protestant training, to-

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day are Christian Scientists. Mrs. Gertrude K. Zitzewitz, Evanston, Illinois, clubwoman, was raised in a Christian home, christened a Lutheran and participated in the youth activities of the Missouri Synod. At age 17, impressed by the fact that the Christian Science Sunday School accepted pupils up to 20, she began attending. The habit endured. She began to study Mary Baker Eddy's *Science and Health* and, when she married, she and her husband became Christian Scientists.

Similarly, Glen M. Britton, California sales executive, began his religious training as a strict Baptist, gradually changed as he attended Principia College and wound up a confirmed Scientist when he entered the army 15 years ago. "I didn't discover Christian Science on my own," the tall Los Angeles salesman admits, "but owe that principally to my mother and college teachers. It has served me well, despite the increasing pressure pockets of daily life."

In our nervous, postwar prosperity, with multitudes on the move, the church-changing trend has accelerated. But, for thousands, the seeds of such change were planted years before. A young Illinois homemaker and school teacher embodies the slow seeking that has taken her through several church homes. Mrs. Gerald Webb, who now lives in Red Bud with her husband and three children, was born Olive Walker and a Methodist 34 years ago. Today, after an exciting career as Government white-collar girl in Washington, New York and Tokyo, she is back home—and an Evangelical. What prompted the switch?

"Well, with me, it's a simple enough story," replies Mrs. Webb. "While working and traveling as a single girl, I sampled a variety of churches in our big cities. But when my school teacher husband and I moved to this tiny community three years ago, we found only three churches. We began attending St. Peter's Evangelical and Reformed, where I joined the choir and Gerry taught Sunday School. Gradually, as our interest deepened and our sons reached school age, we supported many more parish activities. One of these, for example—a series of study lessons conducted by the minister—led me to join the church.

WHAT motivates these ever-increasing changes in church membership? According to psychologist and author Philip Wylie, "The real reasons for a person's changing churches often are not the apparent ones, but are buried deep within his or her subconscious mind. These real reasons may range all the way from a fear of hellfire to the desire for greater social acceptance."

The number of Americans switching churches would seem to

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keep pace with the vast army joining them.

By common consent of clerical and lay leaders, the traffic to and fro among Christian denominations is immense. This year alone—if estimates based on scattered church surveys are a reliable yardstick—between two and three million Americans will change their church affiliation. The Methodist Church in the United States, for example, reporting a 1956 membership of 9,313,278 adults, reveals that 97,163 of that number were "received from other denominations" and that 74,714 "transferred to other denominations."

THE EVIDENCE accumulates that our new search for the Holy Grail is something more than the perennial pursuit of the Fast Buck. True, we still buy one billion comic books a year; still spend $10 billion annually on intoxicating beverages; still seek first—not the kingdom of God—but the obsessive goals of money, power and success.

Millions of Americans are seeking—and finding—the church and the religion that makes sense for them.

And what about those who are still searching? With 65 million Americans still unchurched and the revival of interest in religion and the recovery of personal faith intensified by society's mass pressures, many such spiritual freeholders are finding their way. It is not one way, but a myriad of ways; often it leads into a new church. Amid the roar and rattle of the noisiest era in history, more and more thoughtful adults daily make the choices leading to a faith that fulfills their needs.

Florida Data You'll Never Get From a Travel Bureau

Unsurpassed climate is what you're promised; what you get is unpredictable weather.

The weather Floridians enjoy most is a raging blizzard in the North.

Floridian—Anyone who has lived in Florida longer than you.

Cracker—He was born in Florida.

Native Son—He was born in Florida and is working steady.

Two and four-tenths inches of rain falling in twelve hours is moisture urgently needed by the crops; if it lets up for five minutes it's scattered showers.

There are 174 varieties of palms growing in the State, most flourishing of which is the bellhops'.

Ma'm—Any female, eight to eighty, the first day she's there; the second day she's "honey."

Northern Friend—A well-heeled visitor on his arrival.

Damyankee—He's spent it and is going home. —G. NORMAN COLLIE

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CAN TV COME OF AGE?

by Jesse C. Burt

Responsible sponsorship would change TV into a serviceable medium for its millions of viewers.

MORE AND MORE Americans, realizing now that TV is somehow affecting the lives of all Americans, especially children, are asking, "Can TV come of age? Can it accept its peculiar responsibility, be more creative, show imagination?"

The whole point about contemporary commercial television was well put recently by a citizen aware both of TV's potential and its problem: "Can TV possibly get any better considering the people, the types, advertisers, writers, and so forth, who now surround it? It all seems to hang on the human element but I don't believe that it can be blamed on the viewer."

Obviously, advertisers can exert a malign influence over television, but what may not be too widely realized is the highly constructive influence the men who foot the bills can have—if they don't fall for TV's number one selling point.

In spite of everything, two important shows came about in the wretched 1956-57 season: the Hallmark dramatic series over NBC-TV and *Air Power* over CBS-TV, respectively giving such fare as Bernard Shaw, and facts about the air age to viewers.

In both programs sponsors had to make a certain theoretical adjustment, and since this touches the heart of the matter of TV's contemporary condition as *Variety* puts it, "All biz, no show," it is important to be as specific as possible.

As is well known, TV time has been peddled to sponsors with claims of a mass audience, and millions of viewers. But in the drama series, the greeting card people rejected this seductive and easily-contracted greedy itch in favor of reaching and pleasing a few million. This turned out to be statesmanship in selling.

In *Air Power,* the Prudential Company did the daring thing of

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agreeing to delete the time-honored "middle commercial," put in to give sponsors an additional whack. At times, crime shows have wrenched to a stop, in the middle of a hot chase after the latest crook, to permit what is known in the trade as "the sponsor's message" to be enforced upon the now-aroused attention of the audience.

In addition to responsible sponsorship, both programs made use of TV's potential to entertain and to inform, and refused to fritter away viewer time with quiz and panel shows offering gigantic prizes and bigger, better known, hotter celebrities.

These shows, however, were exceptions in 1956-57 program logs, where jaded viewers encountered chiefly routine programming. In fact, *Air Power* was 1% only of CBS program production during its six months.

As time passed, many viewers found it hard to believe that George Gobel, once the fair hope of TV comedy, and still thriving on the monologue, males impersonating females, costume skits, and whipped cream, could become so impoverished that he had to use material resembling studio floor sweepings from 1948 Milton Berle shows. At times George resembled Tennessee Ernie Ford playing George Gobel; on the other hand, Ernie, who worked for the motor company of the same name in a clever tie in, made like George Gobel playing Tennessee Ernie Ford.

Meanwhile, all over the country viewers contended that TV stations pulled out the stops on the audio during commercials. So many viewers complained of the increased noise that the Federal Communications Commission listened to the ads for patent medicines, anti-dandruff remedies, loan companies, and others, only to conclude there was no evidence of increased volume during its monitoring. But the stubborn public persisted in its belief.

AND MANY a performer wailed in published interviews about the lack of empathy with the unseen audience, a sensed feeling of suspicion and hostility that caused one famous comedian to sign off each show with, "I pray I didn't make anybody mad at me tonight . . ."

There were four investigations by Congress, plus the spectre of pay-as-you-see TV to bedevil television leaders. In such a developing crisis, you'd naturally expect to find some forward thinking going on or at least some evaluation of what to do to make television better.

But in the occult pages of the trade papers, where hard-boiled candor is the rule, you found statements dusting off classic commercially-motivated and colored TV theories. A significant one was

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made by V. I. P. Robert McFadyen, NBC-TV manager of sales and merchandising plans, in a New Orleans year's end speech at a strategy meeting of local ad-men.

Perhaps stirred to play the national parlor game, "What's wrong with television," McFadyen tacitly defined TV as so much advertising. He found, "The trouble with advertising is the public."

He saw the public as being "surfeited and sophisticated," what with the average housewife's exposure during the course of her TV day to 200 commercials, a situation calling for, quote, "the marketquake."

THE "MARKETQUAKE" is designed to "blast" the public into ready attention and buying. The conclusion of Mr. McFadyen's advice to the locals: "That's all . . . bombs away!"

In this speech, as in many other TV revelations, there were three major concepts, none original with the speaker who showed the virtue of complete honesty and sincerity. These concepts give the clue to TV's contemporary identity. First, TV is, they plead, the best advertising medium because of an average daily five hours viewing by *every person*. Second, the vast audience is *"captive."* Third, the nature of TV is such as to be highly "exploitable."

The viewer needs only to observe the "free plug" and the "formula" to see what is meant in the third, over-riding concept.

The free plug, seen and heard on the biggest shows, has been exploited to the ultimate by Bob Hope, who on one show managed to advertise his latest movie 33 times according to actual count, though the purpose of the show was to sell automobiles.

On *Person to Person,* which sometimes seems to exist on the basis of the free plug, the Duchess of Windsor played jacks in her Waldorf-Astoria suite, and also mentioned that her memoirs were appearing in the nation's bookstores.

As any viewer knows, the free plug will mention several times the latest film, public appearance series, record, record album, book, magazine article, or charity appearance by the "spotlighted" celebrity. Presumably this is one way to get "hot" celebrities to appear on shows, but it has been widely rumored that one of the top programs prefers to pay off in plugs rather than in coin of the realm.

Actually, the free plugging of records has created a new kind of viewer amusement. On one famous show the record started playing before the singer started moving his lips to "fake" the singing. From time to time, now that singers who are "hot" don't sing but merely fake the act, there will be a slip-up beween lip movements and the turning of the "hit" record.

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As for the "formula," there is a saying in television to the effect that, "Buy, beg, steal, or borrow a formula, and you're in." The formula for the biggest show on television in 1956 consisted in merely adding three zeroes to the *$64 Question*. Remember that one?

A few seasons ago, so goes the story, a promoter tingled at the awesome possibilities of the formula used by such shows as *I Love Lucy,* whereby situation comedy is hurled into the viewer's face more rapidly than in the most frantic Keystone Cop days. Rounding up an available comedian and an available writer, the promoter told them to assemble a situation comedy, then locked the pair in a hotel room until the creative deed should be done. The resulting hit show has *Lucy's* pace and moronic situations, plus a sub-formula of money and gambling, shown in an episode when the main character wagered on the number of times a female in the story would tug at her girdle.

The more you learn about free plugs, formulas, and TV's own thinking, the wilder it all seems. A person can only conclude that it is television, not the audience, *which is captive,* to the forces that surround television.

NEVER before have salesmen entered doors without knocking, without winning confidence, with the consumer at his most relaxed and unguarded hours. When the psychology of *this* situation is realized, the bonanza aspects of commercialized TV are comprehended.

Recently a local businessman spent two hours discussing his purchase of TV time, with a friend. The businessman said he was rather perplexed about the Big Bonanza. Said he, "I advertise on television, but when I think how television ads are sold me, I get the horrors. 'All that money,' and 'All those people' are the magic catch words. 'Get in on the loot,' ad salesmen will say. Somewhere in all this there is irresponsibility, and a mania for money. In the long run this doesn't do the people a service. I like to think I do a service to the people, at the same time earning a livelihood."

Gore Vidal, writer of some thirty TV dramas, and a perceptive literary man, not long ago told of his various reasons for working in television. They all added up to a need for money, which Vidal didn't think was the best motive for creative work. As the Louisville *Courier Journal* pointed out, "Television this year has apparently taken the pledge against creating anything new."

Although it will sound incredibly naïve to the Madison Avenue men in the Ivy League suits, television can never grow up until it strikes a balance between creation and commerce. Right now televi-

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sion's biggest boasts are that it is approaching a billion dollar annual take, and that there are more TV receivers in America than there are bathtubs. In short, TV boasts of its captivity!

WOULD it be asking too much of $100,000 a year men to ask them to stop listening to themselves (and TV is noted for its "yes" men) in order to hear some of the evaluations now being made of the "industry"? One of these was recently made at the School of Education of Stanford University. Conclusion: TV is adolescent, and TV has poor taste and bad manners. If it teaches anything it is poor taste and bad manners.

In the interim, perhaps starting right now, thoughtful Americans would do well to appraise the value of novelty, and think through the huckster cry that TV is free. What we, the viewers, need is that healthy opinion offered in January, 1957, by the Raleigh *News and Observer:* "To be sure, television has proved a blessing to many people. It has afforded some positive entertainment and it has helped to kill off some vacuous hours. But to answer the tiresome question, people did pretty well before television came to the home. They read books and magazines, they talked and they visited merely for the sake of good company."

Can TV come of age, shed its "surrounders," and be a service to the people? It can be hurried along when we find the answer to one question: "How much does it cost if it is free?"

There's always a price tag.

"Culture"

The American taxpayer has lavished culture on the rest of the world: "Porgy and Bess" performances in Egypt, Minneapolis Symphony in Algeria, Negro cornetist, Dizzy Gillespie, in Argentina where he cemented Latin American relations by parading in Gaucho attire, the same Dizzy Gillespie in Yugoslavia, Pakistan, Greece, etc. Approximately ten million dollars in American taxpayer money has been spent on these "cultural exchange" programs, and the "culture" being displayed as typical American songs and dances stresses only Afro-American jazz, inter-racial bawdy-house entertainment, Indian war dances by American Indians. The exported U.S. symphony and artists play music written by foreigners. The total effect is to impress foreign peoples with the idea that their own native culture is probably better—and definitely more moral—than our own.

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Men of the sea rode their sail-bearing wagons over the great Kansas prairie

Windwagon Sailed the Prairie

by Jessy Mae Coker

SANTA FE INDIANS, accustomed to the splendor of Spanish Governors with their gold bedecked steeds and silver sabers, probably would not have batted a curious eye if the windwagon had dropped anchor in front of the La Fonda Hotel that spring day in 1853.

At the other end of the Santa Fe Trail, however, the men of Westport, knowing no splendor but of their own making, were having trouble grasping the import of the sail-bearing wagon.

A hilarious chapter of frontier history opened that day, when the windwagon, moving under full sail, veered into the pioneer village of Westport, Missouri.

To the west of the village lay the Great Plains, a mighty ocean of wind-tossed waves of grass. The men who crossed there, a hundred years ago, were unmindful of the mileage of destiny. They knew only hunger and thirst, howling winds and wolves, fatigue and the night attack that left so many of their numbers buried in the oblivion of the prairie.

Today, mention of the Westward Movement conjures visions of wagons; covered wagons, prairie schooners and Conestogas; wagons corralled against Indian attack; wagons crawling over high mountain passes; wagons fording the mighty rivers; wagons with furs, buffalo hides and gold; schooners on the Oregon Trail—and freighters to Santa Fe.

But the men in these wagons

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came from the East, where their talk was in terms of the sea and they were born to the glamor of the full-blown sail. They "made port" wherever they went and could vision nothing but sails spread to the wind that churned great waves in the tall grass.

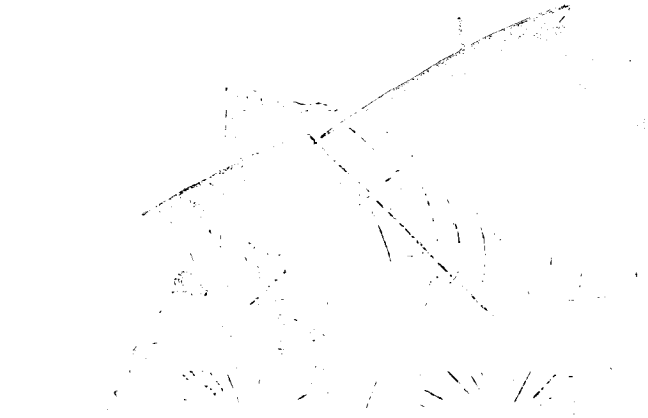
So it was inevitable that there should soon appear a "Navigator of the Prairies" who would attempt to sail the billowy prairie ocean in a wagon rigged with tiller and sails.

And when he blew into Westport that spring day, history even forgot to ask his first name! So astonished were the pioneer men at the performance of the strange sail-powered craft, they stood in open-mouthed silence while the navigator steered up to the village tavern, drew sail, locked the brakes and stepped down.

"My name is Thomas," he announced. "I've come to form a company of prairie clippers to carry mail and passengers to Santa Fe. Gather around and I'll explain my plan."

HE TOLD of all the advantages of his clipper—no animals to feed, greater speed, plenty of wind for power and freedom from attack by Indians, who would be frightened away by the strange craft.

And the Westporters could see he was right, but they were a bit sceptical of the "land navy" and



Courtesy Nebraska State Historical Society

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told Thomas so, while holding tighter to the money in their pockets.

Undaunted, Thomas hoisted sail and headed west, hurling a final challenge:

"I'll sail to Council Grove and back and that'll larn ye lubbers!"

The lubbers laughed at his folly, labeled him "Windwagon" Thomas—and figured they had seen the last of him. Council Grove was 125 miles out on the Kansas prairie, and there were streams and Indians and unruly winds.

But seven days later Thomas blew back into Westport bearing a letter from a well-known blacksmith at Council Grove. The lubbers loosened the grip on their pocket coins, and the Overland Navigation Company was formed.

The company roster included Dr. J. W. Parker, a physician; J. J. Mastin, a lawyer; Henry Sager, a wagon maker; Ben Newson, the Indian Agent; Thomas Adams, a merchant; and "Windwagon" Thomas. Fired by the majesty of his project, Thomas set to work to build a mammoth craft, like the clippers of the sea, while the villagers watched and counted every nail.

"Windwagon's" finished creation was fully 25 feet long, had a seven-foot beam and was mounted on four 12-foot wheels. The hubs were as big as barrels and intended to hold much of the water supply needed in crossing the desert. It had the usual prairie schooner box with an upper deck and a mast 20 feet high which carried a great cloth sail. The tongue of the wagon was made to serve as the tiller.

The giant craft was hauled onto the open prairie by teams of oxen. There the stockholders went aboard for the maiden voyage—all except Doc Parker. He watched from the saddle deck of his old white mule and clutched his saddlebags filled with splints and bandages.

When the oxen had been unhitched, Thomas climbed aboard. "Heave ho, ye lubbers!" he called to his passengers. "Man those ropes and see you keep that sail at full tilt!"

Pilot Thomas spread the canvas in a strong wind, grasped the helm and away they sailed. The great vessel tacked and veered under his expert maneuvering, and his passengers were delighted as they outdistanced Doc's white mule.

Their delight became concern when they reached a speed faster than any horse and buggy and turned to real fright as they moved faster and faster. They yelled to Thomas to shorten sail. He put the helm over and the great clipper came around gracefully. Then it happened! The crafty wind outwitted the confident skipper, whirled the wagon into reverse and sent it sailing round in a circle. Doc Parker and his mule barely

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escaped being run down as he approached to warn his friends:

"Abandon ship, men, before you go into a ditch and are killed."

Dropping to the ground, one by one, the passengers escaped with a few scratches for Doc to mend, but Thomas, who kept riding the deck, crawled out unhurt when the wagon careened into a ditch and broke apart.

Stockholders of the Overland Navigation Company refused to build the rest of the fleet, and no argument would budge them.

Again the Navigator of the Prairies boarded the caravel which had brought him to Westport, hoisted a proud sail and pointed the prow into the setting sun. And history, neglecting to record his first name, forgetting also to ask where he was going, consigned him to immediate oblivion.

BUT THE Fates were kinder to Samuel Peppard, a sawmill owner at Oskaloosa, Kansas, who built a sailing wagon and sailed the sea of buffalo grass in a race with Indians that gave history something to record.

Idleness more than necessity was the mother of Peppard's invention. 1860 was a year of drought and men had time to fulfill fanciful dreams. Peppard's first adventure ended like the Westport fiasco, but he was more persistent. He built a second vehicle more like an ordinary wagon. It weighed about 350 pounds, with a bed three feet wide, eight feet long, and six inches deep. A mast with a sail was raised over the front axle and a lever attached to the axle for steering the craft.

Curious onlookers lined the roadway as Peppard and his party launched their windwagon in the churning sea of grassy waves, and headed for Pike's Peak.

Gold had been discovered in Colorado and the trails were lined with wagons enroute to that land of the new bonanza. Teams bolted and men cursed as Peppard's strange contraption sailed across the plains.

"Our best time was two miles in four minutes." Peppard wrote in his journal. "We could not go faster because the boxing would heat. One day we went 50 miles in three hours and passed 625 teams."

Sam considered 90 miles a day good traveling, but frequently found his vessel becalmed by an uncooperative wind. The windwagon was on the road four weeks and sailed only nine days.

Near noon of the fifth day, the Pilot had reefed his sail and was traveling leisurely about 12 miles an hour when he noticed a cloud of dust in the distance. He drew sail and stopped to wait, while the crewmen ate their lunch.

When the land sailors realized the cloud of dust was a band of Indians, they were only a mile

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away. Sam let the brake off and the wagon moved forward, starting the weirdest race in the annals of frontier lore.

As the sail spread out, the men saw each Indian rise in his saddle with a start of surprise and urge his mustang into a gallop.

"I knew we could outrun them, so we were not alarmed," Peppard said later.

BUT THE windwagon was just gaining speed when a bolt that held the brake snapped, rendering the brake useless. The wind was rising and it would be madness to give the canvas full sail with no means of checking the speed. But it would be greater madness to allow the Indians to catch them. If they escaped with their lives, at least they would lose all their provisions.

As Peppard judged the distance between his ship and the Redskins, he made a fateful decision.

"I reefed the sail and bidding my companions to follow my example, jumped to the ground and seized a wheel. The wagon stopped," he wrote later. "I seized a rope to bind the broken brake. If the delay was not too long we could yet escape. Quickly I secured the brake and we were ready to start."

And none too soon! The Indians were upon them, but suspicion caused them to slacken speed, allowing Sam to give sail to the wind slowly, without wrecking the wagon. The Redmen showed new surprise when the wagon began to move and gain speed.

As the mustangs went into a canter, Peppard released the brake, gave full sail to the wind and the clipper shot off at the incredible speed of 30 miles an hour. When the Indians gave a wild whoop, leaned over their ponies and lashed them into a dead run, Sam realized the braves were not drunk, as he had feared, and that the race was for rivalry, not plunder.

The strong wind fairly lifted the craft from the ground, and the mast creaked with pressure.

"Never have I seen such horsemanship," thought Peppard, as the Indians kept pace.

Swifter than the rest was a brave on a small gray mare. The race was with her alone. Tearing the air with savage yells to cheer their companion on, the others slacked off. The brave leaned over his mare's neck, coaxing, patting her mane, urging her to catch the white man.

The mare was fleet, but the wind fleeter and Sam reefed sail to keep from being lifted into the air.

"At last, I saw the mare was weakening," he reported. "And in order not to distance the brave I applied the brake to slacken speed. The Indian seeing this drew in the mare and exclaimed, 'Ugh, Red Man ride horse. White Man fly like bird on wings of wind!' "

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But the white man with his wings of wind was no match for the whirlwind that came upon him suddenly about 50 miles northeast of Denver. Quick action was imperative, and in his haste Sam made the mistake of jerking a rope caught in a pulley. The rope broke, leaving no means of lowering the sail. The whirlwind caught the full sail, lifted the wagon 20 feet into the air, and bashed the rear wheels on the ground as it came down.

No one was hurt. By the time the crew had dusted themselves off, a wagon train came along and gave them rides into Denver.

FOR TWO DECADES, windwagons of various sizes and patterns kept bobbing up at ports around the prairie ocean. A Cottonwood, Kansas, pioneer noted in his journal that a popular pastime of his youth was to go out on the prairie a few miles from town and watch the windwagon in operation.

Another claimed his father made a windwagon and left it out one night in preparation for a trial run the next day. When dawn came the wagon was gone. A wind had sprung up in the night and wheel tracks in the tall grass showed the wagon had departed "on a witless voyage, crewless and unguided."

A windpower hand car sailed over the Kansas-Pacific railroad tracks with a 15-foot sail that scooted the craft along at the amazing speed of 25 miles an hour, with a good wind.

The epic of the windwagon is a short one but it is also significant, revealing the ingenuity and dauntless character of men who conquered the frontiers, and met every challenge with the virile spirit of their ancestors.

The drama of the windwagon was performed only in Kansas. The stage was 400 miles of prairie grass; flat with dead calm, or tossing in long, green swells to the far horizon. And it is fitting that it was played here, for the state derives its name from the Indian word Kanza, meaning "People of the Wind."

The Latest Night

The farm couple's two young children had spent their time during a rainy afternoon taking apart the big grandfather clock in the hallway. After much confusion—and with several spare parts left over—they managed to put the clock back together.

That night the farmer and his wife were sound asleep when the big clock started chiming to herald the hour of midnight. It struck sixty three times without stopping!

Sitting erect in bed, the farmer reached over and shook his wife. "Martha!" he exclaimed excitedly, "you's better wake up! Danged if it ain't later than I've ever known it to be before!" —B. R. TYLER

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TIME CAPSULES AND WHAT THEY HOLD

by Jerry Klein

A BIT of reverse English sometimes is applied to the old saying that "everything that goes up, must come down." In the case of time capsules, those buried treasures of odds and ends which one generation passes along to another, the saying should be that "everything that goes down, must —eventually—come up." And when it does, it's a sight to see!

A toothbrush, a woman's hat, a box of cigars, a piece of string, and a milk bottle—these are just a few of the weird items that have been solemnly stashed away under ground as typical products of our civilization. Buried in time capsules, their purpose is to tell generations yet unborn what life was like way back in the 20th Century—assuming they care!

During President Truman's administration, workmen repairing the White House discovered a small marble box under the entrance hall. Apparently buried there in 1902, this time vault contained:

Indian head pennies, newspapers reporting Theodore Roosevelt's message to Congress, and the label from a bottle of rye whisky. Some more newspapers were added to this hoard and the box was reburied in another White House location for some future administration to find.

When the Washington Monument foundation is opened, some future Americans will find a copy of the U.S. Constitution, a portrait of George Washington, 75 assorted newspapers, a silk flag and a sample of the coins and currency in use a century ago. This cache was placed in the 25,000 pound, marble cornerstone of the monument when it was laid in 1848.

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Some future generation of Englishmen will find a time capsule containing a razor, a Bible, cigars, a box of hairpins and photographs of "twelve pretty women." These items were buried beneath Cleopatra's Needle, the famous Egyptian obelisk dedicated on a new site in London back in 1878.

Just recently, as part of its 50th anniversary celebration, the State of Oklahoma buried a time capsule in front of the county courthouse in Tulsa. Since Oklahomans do things in a big way, they included in their vault a brand new, de luxe 1957 automobile, all gassed up and ready to roll—come the year 2007!

That's when the capsule is scheduled to be opened, according to the chairman of the celebration committee, W. A. Anderson. He said the committee decided a modern automobile should be preserved for citizens of the next century as "the great common denominator of our times." A 1957 Plymouth was chosen for burial, Anderson declared, "as an advanced product of American industrial ingenuity with the kind of lasting appeal that will still be in style 50 years from now."

To make doubly sure posterity doesn't forget the Plymouth, the car will be awarded to that person —or his heirs—who comes closest to guessing the population of Tulsa in 2007. Entries in this contest are already closed, and the prize may be driven home in 50 years.

Meantime, the eight-cylinder, shark-finned, high-compression symbol of American good living will have to wait—along with many other strange items buried in the earth for future reference.

One of the most ambitious time capsules of all was the one buried at the New York World's Fair in 1939. It was made of a specially resistant alloy to enable it to last until the time comes for it to be opened—in the year 6939. The last time anyone looked, a glass crypt filled with nitrogen gas was inside the metal shell, buried 50 feet deep in a petroleum pitch compound that is supposed to protect it from moisture and acids in the soil. Among other things, this hoard includes a can opener, fountain pen, camera, cosmetics, eyeglasses and dictionaries.

A bottle top, a broken compass, three pennies, a knife and several fishhooks, these are the items preserved to posterity under the cornerstone of a boy's club in New York. The club was about to be dedicated when a city official turned to one lad and asked him to contribute the contents of his pocket as mementos of American boyhood in the 20th Century.

OF COURSE, the contents of some time capsules are serious. With them, mankind hopes to acquaint future generations with his language, science and art, his fears and his aspirations.

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At Oglethorpe University in Georgia, for example, there is a 2,000 cubic foot vault built in solid rock. It contains steel cylinders holding a cross-section of the social, scientific and religious attainments man has reached thus far in his development.

Should the English language no longer exist when the crypt is scheduled to be opened—in the year 8113—there is a machine that gives both a visual and sound indication of 1,500 of our basic words.

FOR THOSE nearer us in time there is a brass capsule of scientific data buried in 1939 beneath an atom smasher at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Placed there by scientists, this treasure is to be opened in 1989—unless the atom smashes all of us to bits before that date.

Americanism, as either a phrase or a force on the contemporary world scene, has been eroded into something negative and defeatist. It has come to represent merely a delaying action against the victorious march of its enemy, collectivism. The air is full of clarion calls to Americans to organize, in order to better fight against socialism, communism, or some vanguard of their forces. Twice each day the mail brings to my desk pleas for me to contribute money, or effort, or moral support, or all three, to some group which is battling to hold back some particular advance of collectivist storm troops.

In the worldwide ideological struggle which divides mankind today, we conservatives fight always on the defensive.

During this long and forced retreat we have fought only a rear-guard and sometimes delaying action. We have never been rallied to counterattack, to break through the enemy or rout him, and to climb again beyond our highest previous gains.

If we heirs of all the ages are to find a turning point in this rapid and sometimes stampeding descent, in which we are abandoning instead of improving our inheritance; if the last half of the twentieth century is to see the curve that measures individual dignity turn upward; if the men who really wish to be free and self-reliant are to begin climbing back up the mountainside; then the goal must be known, and the purpose of aggressive offense must replace defensive defeatism as the banner under which we march. It is fatal to be merely against losing ground, for then there is no way to go but back. We have to be for something; we must know what that something is; and we must believe it is worth a fight to obtain.

There are many stages of welfarism, socialism, and collectivism in general, but communism is the ultimate stage of them all, and they all lead inevitably in that direction. In this final stage, communism, you have a society in which class distinctions are greater than in any other, but where position in these classes is determined solely by demagogic political skill and ruthless cunning. You have a society in which all those traits which have helped to make man civilized, and which our multiple faiths have classified as virtues, are now discarded as vices—while exactly their opposites are glorified.

—ROBERT H. W. WELCH, JR.

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He changed his students from bored prisoners into eager collaborators

HE KNEW HOW TO TEACH

by Lee Hancock

MORE THAN twenty-five years ago I met a man who knew how to teach history. If that doesn't sound like a particularly startling statement to you, think about it a little.

How much of your school-taught history do you remember? How well do your children like history? It is probable that you remember practically nothing; and that your children hate history class. That's because hardly anyone knows how to teach it.

My own recollections of history before Karl N. Keller are associated with boring classroom sessions, longing glances out of the window, and the surreptitious sketching of forbidden pictures in my notebook.

Karl Keller was a wizened little man who seemed always to have been old. He possessed, apparently, only one suit, a blue serge, and in the two electrifying years I spent under his jurisdiction, never appeared in anything else. He had a dour face, lighted only occasionally with a sudden disarming smile. He was slightly bent, due to the fact that he always carried an armload of books. He was one of the most unprepossessing indi-

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viduals I have ever seen, and he was perhaps the best teacher in the whole world.

From the day I first set foot in his classroom there were no more pictures drawn in my notebook in history class. There was no more staring out of the window.

We usually referred to him as "KNK". He taught, and still teaches, at Charles F. Brush High School in Lyndhurst, Ohio. In those days he taught eleventh grade history and twelfth grade civics. The twelfth grade "Civics" class was a study of government, and today carries a high sounding title like "Social Studies", or "Problems of Democracy". Under KNK's tutelage the subject was also history, because through the magic of his insight all the times that had gone before were as real as those of the present.

In discussing a modern form of government, it did not seem odd to him to spend the greater portion of his time talking about a similar experiment which had been tried a thousand years ago.

A discussion about the amount of money currently being spent on munitions would wind up in a heated argument over what percentage of their money was allotted to warfare by the ancient Greeks. With him, we marvelled at modern technological advances, and even more at how the Egyptians had built the pyramids without them.

The world we lived in was released from its prison of time, and joined all the other ages of man, which suddenly became as alive as our own. We watched the barbarians from the north sweep down and engulf the Roman Empire, and the pageantry of it was more spectacular than anything Hollywood has yet produced.

We saw laid bare before our eyes the ugly mechanism of the struggle for power that produced the first World War.

We stood on the deck of a ship in the Boston Harbor, dressed like Indians, as were the rest of the Colonists, and dumped tea overboard into the waters below.

We traveled to the ancient civilization of the Chinese, and tilled their fields with them, and sat in their houses, and thought their thoughts, which were so different from those of our parents and neighbors.

AS I LOOK BACK, I realize that Karl Keller was a born teacher. He loved his subject and was able to transmit that love to his students. But there were certain techniques that he used which no other teacher I ever knew employed with quite the same effectiveness. By their use he changed his students from bored prisoners into eager collaborators. With them he produced scholars capable of acquiring knowledge without supervision, no mean trick in itself.

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Perhaps the most obvious thing he did was to ignore the textbook as much as possible. In Karl Keller's class, our textbook was just another reference book. He threw individual assignments at us and instructed us to research them thoroughly. One of my assignments, I remember, was China. Simply that. No period of Chinese history. No specific governmental problem. Just China. I emerged with a notebook three inches thick. I was certainly no authority on the subject of China, but I knew a lot more about its history, its people and its problems than the average 11th grader, or, for that matter, the average adult. More important, China has been a living nation, not just a place on the map, to me ever since.

Once a student fell under Karl Keller's spell, the library became a mine of information, instead of a place to throw spitballs when the teacher wasn't looking. He frequently suggested historical novels to give us the feel of a period in history. "If you wish to know more about Greece," he would say, and leave his sentence dangling in air while he strode to the blackboard. There he would write in his scrawly hand the names of a few novels, a popular treatment of some phase of the subject in a magazine, a biography of one or two great men connected with the period we were studying. Very often, many of us did wish to know more.

ERUDITE as he was, there were occasional delightful moments when one of us would unearth a piece of information not previously known to our teacher. At such times our positions became reversed. Karl Keller was the fascinated pupil. He would question us about our source, jot down a reminder to himself to check it further.

He gave to us also a healthy suspicion of the printed word. We learned to investigate the backgrounds of historians and to question whether or not they had an axe to grind in their presentation of a particular period of history. He was never happier than when we came to him with two conflicting accounts. At such times we would carefully investigate both authors, more often than not winding up with an assignment to check a third, considered by him to be more reliable than either.

Probably the greatest secret of Karl Keller's success as a teacher lay in the fact that we knew he wasn't kidding us. His own interest in his subject was genuine, his knowledge tremendous. It never occurred to us to pad a notebook with meaningless words and unsubstantiated statements. He would have spotted them immediately.

There is a crying need today for more teachers like Karl Keller. There has always been such a need, of course, but today it is more urgent than ever. We need

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to have it brought home to our children that civilizations, greater in some ways than our own, have crumbled into nothingness.

Having once been under the spell of Karl Keller it seems incredible to me that it should be a difficult thing to do. Surely there is nothing dull about studying the behavior of beings who are so much a part of us. We in America have as our ancestors Greek warriors, barbarians from the forests of what is now Germany, peasants from the feudal estates of that England which was once an outpost of the Roman Empire. That their lives and the times in which they lived might be uninteresting to us, their offspring, certainly never occurred to Karl Keller. Nor did it occur to us who were fortunate enough to be his pupils.

Karl Keller was not active in any of the counselling work that is so popular in our modern schools. He may have been someone's home room teacher: I do not recall. I know he was not mine. All he did was teach, and perform his mission in such a manner that we who were instructed by him will remember our days in his classroom for the rest of our lives.

Not long ago we had a Twenty-fifth Year Class Reunion. In the middle of his opening speech, the chairman of the event announced, "I have a surprise for you—one that I think all of you will enjoy." The surprise was, of course, KNK, the only one of our former teachers who had been invited.

HE WALKED into the room, the old disarming smile tinged with bewilderment. It was obvious that he no longer recognized most of us.

The years had been kind to him. His hair was now snow white. He had gained a little weight and his formerly sallow, hollowed cheeks were softly rounded and tinged with pink. A light grey suit had replaced the blue serge all of us remembered so well.

We rose to our feet and applauded.

On February 26, 1941, Mr. John Foster Dulles, then a member of the New York law firm, Sullivan and Cromwell, prepared a confidential draft for Mr. C. K. Streit, author of *Union Now With Britain*. The draft, according to Mr. Streit, was "to serve as a basis for soundings and informed discussions" on the creation of "The Union" of the British Commonwealth and the United States. "The Union" was to have power to determine peace and war, make treaties and exercise all other attributes of sovereignty.

—From *Dan Smoot Report*

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What is Malpractice?

by Darby Stranton

JOHN CRANE coughed. His throat was sore, and coughing was painful to him. He tried to suppress the impulse but could not. His wife looked up from the magazine she was thumbing and glanced at him worriedly. He wiped the corners of his mouth with his handkerchief.

At that moment a nurse came into the waiting room. "Doctor Setton will see you now," she said. Crane thanked her with a half smile. He walked through the door she held open for him. After a moment of indecision his wife decided to follow him.

Doctor Setton greeted them both and asked them to be seated. Crane took the chair just in front of the desk. His wife settled onto the leather-covered sofa.

"My throat's killing me," Crane said. "Suppose to go fishing with Ken and Seth in the morning," he added.

"And he'll go, too," his wife added with obvious resignation.

"Well," the doctor cut in, sensing a family squabble, "come inside and let's have a look at it." He led the way into his examining room. Crane followed. His wife remained on the sofa, but she could hear all that was said in the adjoining room.

"Touch of bronchitis," the doctor announced after completing the examination. "Penicillin should take care of it." At that moment the nurse appeared through another doorway. He gave her an order. She went to the sterilizer, took out a syringe, inserted a penicillin cartridge.

"You've had penicillin before, haven't you?" the doctor asked.

"Sure," Crane replied. "You've given it to me several times."

"That's right," Dr. Setton agreed. Then he hesitated, a frown crossed his face. "Had a reaction last time, didn't you?"

"Sure did, my skin itched for days," Crane said.

The nurse handed the syringe to Doctor Setton. Crane had removed his shirt. "Well, probably wouldn't

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happen again," the doctor said as he grasped the deltoid muscle between his fingers. He jabbed the needle into the bunched muscle, injected the antibiotic. He withdrew the syringe, handed it back to the nurse. Crane picked up his shirt, started to put it on, but felt dizzy. While holding his shirt in one hand he wiped his forehead with the other. He was surprised to find it so wet. He remembered nothing more.

AT THE TRIAL it was established that Dr. Setton had caught Crane just before he fell over; that with the help of his nurse they had lowered him to the floor where he lay on his back breathing deeply for a few minutes. Then he ceased breathing altogether. Doctor Setton testified that he had given artificial respiration. His associate, Doctor Krantz, admitted under cross-examination that in his opinion Crane's heart had ceased to beat. How long this condition persisted could not be said with certainty. After both doctors had worked on him for more than two hours, his breathing began once again, though he remained unconscious for several more hours.

Crane ultimately recovered. At least he was able to leave the hospital. But since that experience he has been a different person. He is profoundly depressed. His face has a perpetual mask-like appearance. The neurologists and psychiatrists who testified were not certain whether he had suffered what they called "organic" damage to his brain, or whether his difficulty was "functional" in nature. But they did agree that, whatever the exact cause, Crane was completely unable to pursue his occupation, that he required continued medical treatment for an indefinite period, that his condition may improve, or, on the other hand, that he may become a helpless invalid.

Further testimony showed that Crane had experienced what is known as "anaphylactic shock," a severe allergic reaction to penicillin. The question for the jury to decide was whether or not Doctor Setton had been negligent in giving Crane penicillin. According to Crane's lawyers, the doctor knew that he had had a previous reaction, that it should have been a red light. He went through the red light and Crane was damaged.

The jury agreed. There was a verdict of $15,000 for Crane.

In every state, more and more malpractice suits are being filed each year. Significantly, more verdicts are going against the doctors. These are facts which have created considerable tension between the legal and medical professions, to say nothing of the strained relations between doctor and patient.

Doctors of about every description—physicians, dentists, osteopaths, chiropractors—are plainly disturbed by the trend. The great

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majority of doctors insist vehemently that under no circumstances should they be subjected to a law suit as a result of their practice. They insist that medicine is not an absolute science, that they do not guarantee results, that they must have complete freedom of action to use their best professional opinion without the threat of censorship in a court of law. They further insist that a jury of laymen cannot pass judgment on them. And they conclude by stating that they have their own boards composed of competent trained men to police their ranks.

The legal profession takes issue with these conclusions. Lawyers who specialize in this field believe that the word "malpractice" is the biggest stumbling block. The word means "bad" practice, but actually such cases are tried under a branch of law known as "torts." Such cases are generally based on negligence. Lawyers insist that the rules of negligence apply to all. To make out a case of negligence there must be a duty, a breach of that duty, and, as a proximate result of such breach, damages.

They explain this by stating that a man driving a car has a duty to stop at a red light. If he goes through that red light he has breached his duty. Then, if as a result of such breach—that is, running the red light—he hits a pedestrian, he is responsible for all the damages done to that person. The lawyers insist that doctors are governed by the same legal principles. Thus, in the case of Mr. Crane, they maintain that when Doctor Setton knew that Crane had had a penicillin reaction it was the red light which told him to stop. He did not stop. Crane was damaged as a result. But the physicians reply that a doctor must be given the freedom to use his professional judgment. There the battle is joined.

No one believes that the medical profession should be hamstrung or harassed by the threat of recurring law suits. But, conversely, it is hard to convince the legal profession that all professional acts and their consequences should be placed beyond the jurisdiction of the courts. Lawyers agree that competent boards should police their own professions. This would certainly diminish the probability of malpractice cases. But, by their very nature, people—all people—are occasionally negligent. In such instances, if a patient is injured, he should be able to look for compensation, or so insist the lawyers.

Even if doctors will go so far as to agree that there may be an occasional instance to justify such legal actions, they then vigorously object to having a jury or a judge not medically trained pass judgment. For example, they may cite a case in which a doctor was found guilty

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of removing both ovaries from a 35-year-old woman. In this instance, the jury had to decide whether or not the ovaries should have been removed. Doctors argued that such a decision could only be made by a competent physician at the time of surgery. The lawyers, on the other hand, stated that by expert testimony of other physicians, and by hospital records, they showed that the ovaries when removed were in good condition, that the pathologist who examined them so reported, that the removal of the ovaries caused severe changes in the young woman, that she was permanently damaged and therefore should be compensated. The jury agreed.

Actually, it is extremely difficult to win a malpractice suit. Very few professional men will testify for the patient in such cases. And since the burden of proof is on the patient to prove that the doctor was negligent, clearly his lawyers must be remarkably versed in the healing arts. But even if they are so trained, unless they can obtain expert witnesses who will testify as to the facts, they cannot make out a case of negligence. For this reason, in order to obtain a verdict, it is almost necessary to have a case of such apparent negligence that it is obvious to the jury even in the absence of such expert testimony.

PERHAPS if the word "malpractice" were dropped, the stigma associated with such cases would fade. Unfortunately, many people feel that a doctor who has a verdict go against him in such a suit is guilty of some crime. They believe that he should have his license revoked, that he should not be permitted to practice. This is an unfortunate reaction and the term malpractice is probably more to blame than anything else. Yet the very same people who hold such an opinion certainly do not believe that a person who has been in a traffic accident, and who is found negligent and must pay, should be forevermore barred from driving.

The question, really, is whether or not those engaged in the healing arts should be exempt from the well established rules of negligence. The doctors vigorously so argue. The lawyers, just as vigorously, argue the opposite.

Perhaps even more important is the opinion of the public—that is, the patient. All too many people believe that if they are not cured of whatever ails them, or if they have been hurt, or consider themselves damaged in any way, they are entitled to compensation. For example, take the case of Crane. The court allowed him to recover because the doctor, in not observing the red light, was negligent. But if Crane had never had a reaction to penicillin before—in other words, if there was no reason why he should not receive it—then no matter how badly the injection might

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have hurt him he would not be entitled to recover. This is a hard concept for many people to grasp. It is only natural that a person should look to someone for payment, but in the absence of negligence, such compensation cannot be had.

LAW SUITS are seldom friendly affairs, and malpractice cases are no exception. But if the basic principles involved are clearly understood by the doctor, the patient, and the lawyer, there would be far less animosity than exists today. Although the lawyer, of the three, should be most familiar with these basic principles, all too often he leaps to the conclusion that if there are damages there must have been negligence.

This, of course, is not always true. It is difficult for one not trained in medicine to appreciate the decisions that the doctor is called upon to make throughout every day of his practice. Some of those decisions may prove to be wrong, but, as every lawyer must admit, wrong decisions do not necessarily constitute negligence.

It was mentioned earlier that one of the essential elements of negligence is the breach of a duty. To put it in more comprehensible language, so long as the doctor practices in accord with the standards in his community, he has not breached his duty. For example, not so many years ago very few dentists gave a patient a physical examination, or had a physician do so, before administering a general anesthetic. But today in most communities this is the practice. Consequently, if a dentist gives a general anesthetic to a patient who shouldn't have had it—and the patient dies—clearly the dentist would be held liable. On the other hand, if such is not the practice in a particular community and the patient dies, the dentist is not liable. This sounds strange and unjust, but it underscores the important fact that a man is held negligent only when he does not conform to the standards of the average person doing the same work in the same community.

In brief, the doctor must recognize that the legal rules of negligence apply to him as well as to anyone. The patient must appreciate the fact that failure of a cure, or even actual damages, do not constitute malpractice unless the doctor breaches a duty by failing to conform to the standards of his profession in his community. And the lawyer must be reminded that medicine is not an exact science, that many unfortunate results occur in the complete absence of negligence.

Most of us show our disapproval of gossip by asking all our friends not to repeat it to a soul.
—HAROLD COFFIN

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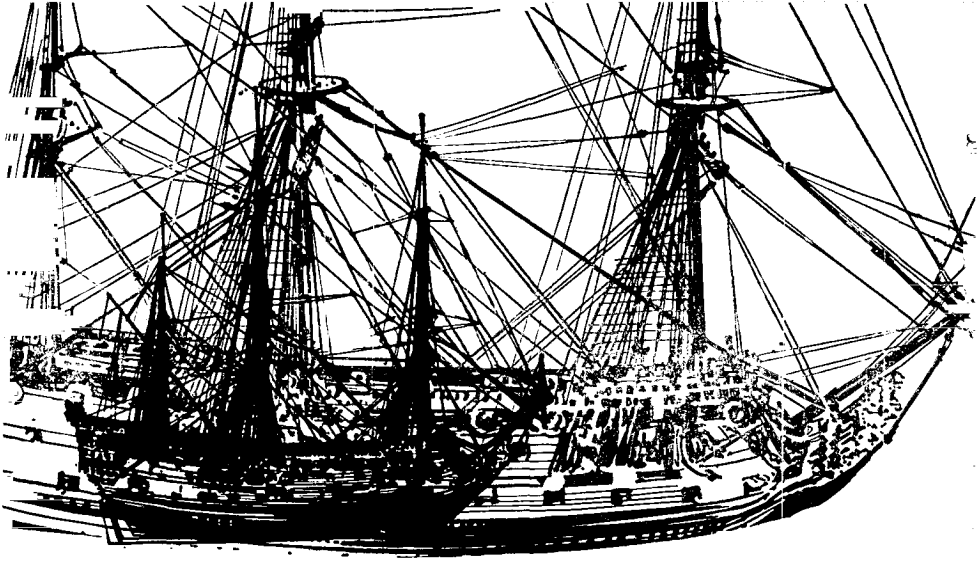

The Birth of a Fleet

by
Ruth P. Collins

The dream of Peter the Great grew into the Russian navy

Back in 1698 a Dutch ship anchored off Greenwich, England, and a young man of striking appearance, known merely as Mr. Timmerman, climbed down and got into a small boat. He was rowed up the Thames to the foot of Norfolk Street, where he hurried into the big quiet house near the river's edge.

Historian Macaulay calls this "The most momentous visit in all the world" for it marked an epoch in history.

Voltaire describes the visitor as one of the most extraordinary men who ever lived.

Mr. Timmerman, in fact, was the Tzar of Russia, young Peter I, later known as Peter the Great. He had come to England to learn how to build a navy.

Peter had been crowned Tzar when only nine years of age. Russia at that time was a vast landlocked area, its only outlet to the sea was Archangel in the far North, frozen fast eight months of the year. It boasted not one ship. The little Tzar in fact never saw one till he was seventeen years old. As a child he had had such a dread of water that he trembled even to cross a bridge. One day, however,

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roaming through the sordid outskirts of Moscow with a group of teen-agers—sons of foreign diplomats—in search of adventure, he came across an English sailing-ship stranded on the banks of a river. He was fascinated.

"I must learn how to sail a ship," he said and sent for a visiting Dutchman to teach him. The next few weeks the amazed citizens saw their monarch out on the river in all sorts of weather, climbing the rigging, pulling ropes like an ordinary seaman. Next he said he must learn to build a boat—and he accomplished this too.

When finally he managed to escape his mother's guardianship, he headed first for Archangel, a port which adventurous English merchants had been allowed to open up two centuries before, one which *no Tzar had ever laid eyes upon.* The first sight of the open sea left him speechless. The fluttering sails of the Dutch and English ships in the harbor filled him with strange excitement. From that moment he had only one dream in life—that Russia one day would have the greatest fleet in all the world and would command every sea.

BACK in Moscow his first step toward making his dream come true was to send to Amsterdam for a shipwright, who made him a whole flotilla of miniature ships, a model of every one then afloat. Peter worked alongside his master, carving, asking questions. He organized his grooms and young foreign friends, and they studied naval strategy, staging mock battles.

He began to boast openly, "One day Russia will rule the seas. I shall extend her borders till we have access to every water on earth." When his companions tired of this play, he disappeared to spend his days in a hut down by the river, building real boats.

"He's down in the mud sawing like a carpenter when he should be sitting on the throne," the church patriarchs complained. "He's mad," his enemies said. "He's still just a child playing," his mother defended him, pretending to laugh. Inwardly she was terrified. Peter's half-brother, Ivan, the righful heir, was known to be a hopeless imbecile. It needed only a rumor of this sort to oust her spoiled son from the throne which was being held for him only by bloodshed and intrigue.

It was useless to argue with the boy dreaming and sawing down on the river bank, and suddenly Peter disappeared altogether from Russia. He had fled to Amsterdam, put his name down as a laborer, taken lodgings in the dockworkers huts. *He rose at dawn, boiled his own pot, learned how to caulk iron, wield the mallet, twist rope* . . . When his ambassador finally located him he was forced to climb a rigging to talk to him.

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But Peter didn't stay long in Holland. The apprenticeship at ship-building called for three years actual manual labor. In England, Peter learned, a man could master the essential technique within three months. He appealed to King William of England. So the momentous visit was arranged. William took for him the big house at the foot of Norfolk Street, which was later to house Scotland Yard. The famous Pepys lived across the road and in his diaries much of the visit was recorded.

THE YOUNG Tzar hated publicity; but he was such a magnetic personality that he drew crowds wherever he went. He was handsome, broad-shouldered, over six feet four, with beautiful brown skin, piercing dark Tartar eyes, and a winning smile. Nor could he shed his royal bearing even in a laborer's clothes. Forgetting his role he got into numerous brawls with the people on the streets. One day a porter with a load on his head, jostled him in the Strand. Peter was up with his fists in a moment and the porter willing put down his load. "No, no, you mustn't," someone whispered, "That's the Tzar of Russia!" "Tzar of Russia!" the cockney shouted, "We're all tzars here."

When Peter was prevailed upon, out of respect to King William, to appear at social functions, he created even more of a stir. Macaulay describes him and his retinue appearing at a ball in all their oriental splendor, with their wild gestures, barbarous table manners, "dripping pearls and vermin, so filthy no one dared go near them." Peter amazed everyone by the amount of food he ate, the brandy he consumed, brandy which he distilled for himself and carried with him to any function. He kept a buffoon always at his feet, a monkey tied to the back of his chair. "Brilliant as a fox, strong as an ox, but timid as a hare," another historian describes him.

When he went to the theater Peter sat behind a silken curtain to hide from the stares. Finally, disgusted, he complained that he could learn nothing of ships because of the gawking crowds, and the king arranged for another home down near the Deptford dockyards.

It was a beautiful, historic, old house, but the royal tenant shoved aside all its art treasures and turned it into a naval junk-yard. Naval architects, captains, mechanics, common sea-hands were sleeping in every room. A hole was torn in the stone wall in the back garden to give Peter quicker access to the docks behind. Later the owner of the house sent a bill in to King William for £1500 damage done to his house, which had been turned into a pigstye, and to his choice holly hedge which the tzar had ruined.

Now Peter's worried mother

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made another attempt to lure her son back to his throne. She appealed to William who sent Bishop Burnet along to talk sense to the unruly youth. Burnet came away complaining that he had gone to see a prince but found only an industrious shipwright, too engrossed in his trade to stop and listen.

PETER, however, was not too engrossed with ships to see a few other things in England. He was amazed by the great church libraries at Lambeth Palace. He saw how paintings by the masters were cherished in museums. He saw how the countryside was cultivated in sharp contrast to his vast domain of waste and morass. He compared the comfortable cottages of the laborers with the wretched hovels of his peasants. He noticed the manners at court, and had a small book printed called *The Honorable Mirror of Youth*—a 17th Century Emily Post guide to good society manners. This he took back to Moscow for his young friends. During the next fifty years five editions of this booklet were printed.

Peter went home to Moscow brimming over with ideas of modernizing his country, giving it a European culture in place of the barbaric, semi-Oriental one which it had always followed. He brought with him many art treasures. Today Russian museums contain paintings of Rubens, Titian, Rembrandt, Michelangelo, Raphael and Da Vinci. He brought also a retinue, fifty-five strong, of English merchants, scientists, mechanics, shipwrights, watch and compass makers, rope makers, captains, and pilots.

Voltaire summed it up, "He gave polish to his people but remained always himself a savage . . . a promoter of arts, science, literature yet himself ever without education."

King William staged a great sham battle off Spithead as a farewell party for him and presented him with a royal yacht.

Peter arrived home, flaming with zeal. He wasted no time. He announced that Russia was to have a new modern capital on the Baltic Sea. One day it would be the greatest port in the world.

The city, St. Petersburg, went up in 1703 as by magic. Small wonder, when Peter himself supervised the building, living in a small hut down in the mud banks, ordering, goading, watching. The people, amused, mocking, irritated in turn, became enthusiastic when the great domes of cathedrals and museums began to grow against the gray skies. Soon the whole nation had caught Peter's vision.

Now, with the Baltic port ready, Peter turned his attention to the South where Russia had outlet only into the small Sea of Azov. It, in turn, by a small passage, had an out-

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let to the Black Sea. Turkey still held all these strategic spots but some day, Peter promised himself and his people, they would take them. In the meantime they were getting ships and ports ready.

Peter's cleverness was shown best at this point, when he was able to fire the patriarchs of the church—dubious and disapproving up till then—with the idea of a holy war, against the infidel Turk.

"We labor," he told the Patriarch Adrian in writing, "in order to thoroughly master the art of the sea: so that having once learnt it we may conquer the enemies of Christ and free by His Grace the Christians who are oppressed . . . that is all I shall long for till my last breath."

The idea welded all the sparring factions in the country as nothing else had in two centuries. The church soon took it up and conscripted labor from the serfs. They had a slogan, "a ship for each 8000 serfs," and the serfs responded since it was a Holy War.

PETER'S first fleet, built on the Don River emptying into the Sea of Azov, consisted of 22 *galleys of green wood, 100 rafts, 1700 barks*. When, however, he trumped up an excuse to start his war against the Turks he was not so successful. He lost most of his new fleet. Next he turned his forces against the North, against Sweden, trying to gain outlet through the Baltic Sea. Again he was whipped.

Reverses, however, but added fuel to the flame consuming him. He went on building ships for the next twenty years, struggling to find outlets to the open seas. He stopped at nothing to gain his end —purges of his own party, intrigue, bloodshed, bribes. His mania for a great fleet increased each year.

When he died, in 1725, at the age of 53, his last words were of his beloved ships.

Doings of a Democracy

- Lexington, Massachusetts, has gone full cycle. This town, where the embattled farmers took on the Redcoats in 1776, has changed the name of "Independence Road" to "King Street."
- Joliet, Illinois, suspended three city water department employees because of spring fever. The one-day suspension was ordered after the employees were discovered picking dandelions when they should have been repairing the city water pump.
- State Rep. Palmer Burch of Colorado declared himself as being stumped when it came to taxing turkeys. "On assessment day, February 1, the turkey isn't even an egg," Rep. Burch stated. "And at the end of the year, when taxes are due, he's hash."

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Do You Know?

► Total earnings of 15 member banks of the New York Clearing House rose to $271,000,000 for 1957.

► In 50 years in the U. S., the number of persons employed by government grew from one worker in every 25 to one in nine.

► The International Zionists are fanatically committed to the establishment of an imperialistic world empire with Israel as its center.

► General Serov now heads the Red Russian Security Commission. Like Beria, he is a tough, ruthless murderer.

► Since World War II, we have spent over 300 billion dollars for national defense and 60 billion dollars in foreign aid. We are now spending about 40 billion dollars a year for national defense. What do we have to show for these enormous expenditures?

► New York City spends perhaps $50,000,000 a year on "mainly remedial" programs for its Puerto Rican newcomers.

► Although the United States outranks any single European nation, or any other nation in the world, as a foreign trader, Western Europe's combined trade constitutes about 50 per cent of the world total, or three times that of the United States.

► United States Government intervention at Little Rock has cost $4,237,000 so far, enough to pay for four Jupiter ballistic missiles.

► Foreign cartel arrangements, in contrast to United States anti-trust restrictions, make it very difficult for American owned businesses to operate abroad.

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Let us always remember this—there will never be foreign aid for Americans!— Eugene W. Castle in *Manion Forum*

Foreign Spree for our Superspenders

by Eugene W. Castle

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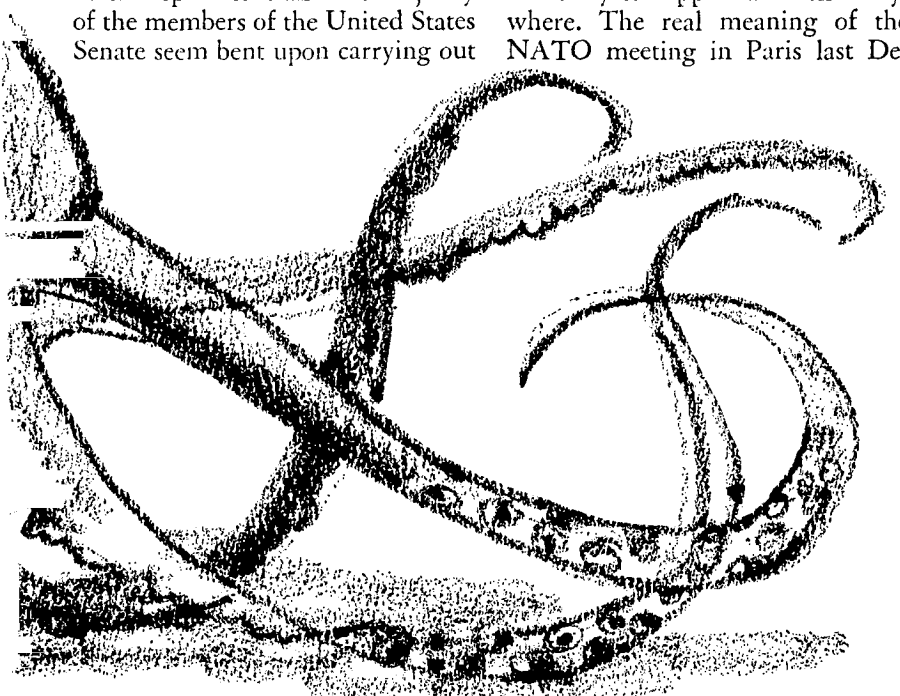
ONCE again, from Washington, come the familiar pleas for more money to spend, tied to whatever current excuse will serve to frighten the American people into substituting spending for orderly progress and common sense. Ignored is the fact that a strong economy is still the most powerful weapon for our survival. Yet inflation, always the end product of reckless spending, could fulfill the prediction of Lenin in 1920 that America would be conquered—because we eventually would spend ourselves into bankruptcy.

Tragically, the White House, the State Department and the majority of the members of the United States Senate seem bent upon carrying out this dire prophecy. Constantly we are reminded that the American people must make sacrifices, but what will the sacrifices gain for us?

In 1952, General Eisenhower said: "The United States cannot be an Atlas; it cannot, by its financial sacrifice, carry all the other nations of the world on its shoulders and we should stop giveaway programs." Yet on January 21, 1957, President Eisenhower told this nation and the world: "We accept our deepest involvement in the destiny of men *everywhere* . . . high will be the cost."

We do not have the resources permanently to support all men everywhere. The real meaning of the NATO meeting in Paris last De-



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cember was that our Allies told us that they had little faith in our ideas and were even reluctant to agree to accept more of our global bribery. Instead, they urged us to go to Moscow and make a "talk" deal with the Kremlin. Yet, we are again being urged to perpetuate these same ill-conceived and badly executed schemes and policies that weaken our economy and dissipate our resources under the false assumption that we can buy allies with bales of money—and convert them with torrents of worthless propaganda.

SINCE the Soviets respect only strength, none will disagree that there must be concentration on our missile program and other means of maintaining military power. This does not mean, however, that those who spend our money should be allowed to use any excuse to waste our nation's resources on other projects. Both prudence and self-interest dictate that, if we are to survive against the slave states, we must find ways and means to get the maximum value for every dollar expended.

One thing is certain. The solution to our problems is not to be found in circling the globe with more foreign aid dollars. Foreign aid is now the second largest operating item in our Federal Budget. By July 1, 1958, our foreign aid ventures will approximate the astronomical total of $70 billion.

So anxious are they to keep the giving in high gear that our highest officials continually fly around the world seeking new ways and means of maintaining and enlarging this global giving.

Basically our foreign aid program was conceived as the unselfish action of a successful nation to rescue the devasted countries of Europe from the ravages of war. That objective, originally estimated to cost not more than $17 billion and to be completed within four years, was accomplished. Those who conceived it did not intend that it should continue for thirteen years and $70 billion.

Few will dispute that a limited amount of foreign aid honestly and carefully dispensed to such friends as Turkey, Greece, Formosa and Korea is justifiable; but the idea of

From the year 1792, when the first session of the first Congress convened, to 1950, when the current giveaway swung into full stride, the Government collected $406 billion in taxes.

From 1950 through 1956, both fiscal years included, the Government collected $433 billion in taxes.

For $406 billion in 158 years we fought and won 6 wars.

For $433 billion in 7 years we fought one war in Korea without victory; and we fought and are still fighting a cold war *that we have been losing ever since it began.*

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continuing to try to buy the friendship of nations is completely unsound.

Presently, our foreign aid billions are paid mostly to the governments or public authorities of the receiving countries. Very large sums of our aid monies allocated freely to underdeveloped countries all too often find their way into the pockets of the ruling politicians and their supporters. Some countries use our aid dollars to pay for luxury imports. Others spend our money for a multitude of unwanted, unneeded and wholly unsuitable public works projects.

LET US recall a few of these projects: Our foreign aiders financed an extensive survey to ascertain the sexual habits of Nehru's Indians.

In Formosa, we are giving $48,000,000 annually to pay for pensions for overaged Chinese soldiers.

In Pakistan, we handed over $1,000,000 to bolster that country's fishing industry.

Our wheat giveaway has ruined Canadian farmers. Once our best customer, the Dominion Government now is looking elsewhere to spend its dollars.

In Viet Nam, 200 American engineers are enjoying home comforts to the envy of the restless natives, while building a military highway of highly questionable value.

In Lebanon, our foreign aid dollars are used to plant wild grass shoots along public highways.

> On January 21, 1957, in his second inaugural address, President Eisenhower told this nation and the world via the Voice of America: "We accept our deepest involvement in the destiny of men *everywhere* . . . high will be the cost."
>
> No people in history have been more generous than Americans with their personal contributions at home and overseas. Despite very heavy tax burdens Americans individually—and not through government—have given away more than $6 billion since 1946.
>
> But our nation does not possess the resources permanently to support all peoples *everywhere*. There is no obligation for the citizens of the United States to carry the other 94 per cent of the world's population on our tax backs. *If we gave away everything we possess, it would not raise the living standards elsewhere so much as one per-cent.*

In Iran, the Shah tells us to come across with more millions to support his army or he will seek the cash from Moscow. Perhaps the Shah of Iran would have respect—instead of contempt—for us if we told him and his fellow "fencesitters" to go to (Moscow).

In Afghanistan, we continue to pay for expensive airfields in a country where most travel is still done on the backs of camels.

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In the Philippines, we have provided costly electronic microscopes and technical equipment in regions where no power is available for their use.

In Laos, population 1,300,000, the government uses our foreign aid millions to buy luxury goods and to protect the internal political graft of that country.

In Thailand, we began the building of a highway to cost $6.5 million. This highway has already cost us $18 million for half of the originally planned stretch, and this is a country with fewer than 9,000 automobiles.

We have provided dress suits for Grecian undertakers, public baths for Egyptian camel drivers and free airplane rides for thousands of Arabs to visit their religious shrine in Mecca.

In the name of foreign aid we are spending $5 million annually to send warblers of arias to Western Europe, weight-lifters to the Near East and high-priced jazz bands to the Far East!

HERE ARE further examples as revealed by American reporter Fred Sparks, who in late 1957 circled the world to bring home the facts. After urging that the White House dispatch a mission of businessmen fully familiar with particular foreign regions, accompanied by retired generals who know when an army commander is featherbedding, Mr. Sparks wrote: "If I belonged to such a mission I would take it to the Ueno PX in Tokyo where bargain-priced merchandise, brought over for our troops at high taxpayer cost, is peddled illegally. I would take it to our economic aid mission on Dewey Boulevard in Manila where, recently, directors told me the Philippines could live and prosper without one free American dollar if integrity dominated. To another where we run a knitting school. To another where we underwrite modern art exhibits. To a third where we finance an elaborate survey of flower reproduction. I would take it to Pusan and Inchon in Korea where millions in aid shipments are stolen off the docks through careless or corrupt police practices. I would take it to Algeria's grim battlefields where planes and tanks earmarked 'for anti-Communist use only' are crushing a strictly local rebellion."

Reporter Sparks cited many more examples of squander, waste and corruption. He wrote that if instead of a mission of Administration followers—tripping from red carpet to red carpet and seeing only what they are supposed to see—a real fact-finding group was sent, it would come up with practical ways for cutting military aid 25 percent and economic aid 50 percent "without pulling back a single soldier on guard against Soviet adventures."

Those who continually clamor for ever increasing spending for foreign aid solemnly repeat that

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we cannot support our Armed forces as cheaply as we can subsidize the armies of other countries. They never say that some of our friends and so called neutralists might, in self-interest, support their own military establishments if they were made to realize that Uncle Sam would no longer pick up the check.

Joseph Campbell, Comptroller General of the United States, is one of the few high officials of our government who reports directly to the Congress and not to the President. While making a routine check of the Defense Department's assets, Mr. Campbell discovered an item of $363,000,000 that should not have been there at all. It was part of the 1954 military aid appropriation which had never been used and had never been reappropriated. By rights, it should have reverted to the Treasury, and so Comptroller Campbell vigorously advised the Congress! More recently, he has made some additional discoveries concerning the disbursal of our military aid. His report underscored that United States military aid objectives in many allied countries were "unrealistic" and financially unsound. It further stated that this country sent to some allies more weapons than they could use and failed to "recapture" the weapons for reallocation to allies suffering a shortage.

The Comptroller General also stated that the Army and Air Force had failed to provide "adequate" accounting and reporting on the supply and delivery of military aid and it recommended that our military aid program must be put "on an austere basis within the demonstrated capability and willingness of the recipients." The report summarized the General Accounting Office's findings in nine countries: France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Korea, Pakistan, Spain, Taiwan (Formosa) and Turkey.

ON JANUARY 16, 1958, the House Committee on Government Operations in an official report asked, "How much of the 24 billion dollars appropriated by the Congress for the military aid program has been wasted?"

It was revealed that neither the Committee nor the General Accounting Office were allowed access by the State and Defense departments to important information.

The Committee reported that military assistance is often granted for political rather than strictly military reasons, i.e., large sums are wasted in order to feed the vanity of some foreign politicians and keep them happy rather than to strengthen the recipient nations.

Planes, it was cited, are delivered without anyone to fly them, motor vehicles without gasoline to run them.

The United States was charged for rental of $112 million worth of

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machine tools we had given to Great Britain.

The Committee learned that a given country may receive arms funds even though it may not be able to furnish a single soldier or jet pilot should war come.

To sum up, the Committee said, "Millions of dollars have been needlessly expended in excess costs, loose contract administration and over-all laxness in protecting the interests of the United States against charges for foreign taxes and profits in off-shore contracts."

And all this we are told by the President and Secretary of State is vital to our security and very existence!

FOR THE past several years, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles repeatedly has assured us that the Soviet economy was becoming worse by the hour and that it was on the verge of a crackup. Now, Mr. Dulles does a sudden and complete about face. He solemnly warns Congressional committees and issues lengthy press releases to the American people to inform us that the now-affluent Soviet bloc is tripping over itself in outgiving us in economic handouts and that if we do not immediately enter a marathon to match this alleged and recently discovered Red generosity we are most certainly destined toward ruin.

As a part of Washington's stepped up campaign to terrify the American public into supporting bigger foreign giveaways than ever, the State Department recently announced that during 1956 and 1957 the Soviet bloc agreed to supply $1.9 billion of military and economic assistance to ten under-

There has probably never been devised in our Nation a more actively functioning propaganda machine than the one which is operated by the advocates of a free-spending foreign aid program. There are powerful pressure groups pushing this program, seeking spending far in excess of the needs justifiable by the facts of record.

Large numbers of our highest paid bureaucrats and their subordinates are working without letup to convince Members of Congress and the American people that the foreign aid program is indispensable and that ever more funds are required to support it. Representatives of numerous foreign nations are exerting extreme efforts to influence larger contributions for their particular countries. And, disappointing as it certainly is, many of our own Nation's big business firms, with profitable contracts through the program, are strong advocates of everlasting, bigger spending foreign aid.

—CONGRESSMAN OTTO E. PASSMAN of Louisiana

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developed countries while during the same period the United States allocated only $900 million to these countries.

This sudden announcement, made just before Congress reconvened, is wholly misleading.

The facts are that out of the total of $1.9 billion which the State Department gave as an "estimate", the Soviet bloc promised $1,335 billion and earmarked—but did not deliver—this sum for four countries, Egypt, Yugoslavia, Syria and Indonesia. All of these countries can be classed as frigidly unfriendly to us and what we stand for. Only 10 to 15 percent of the promised Soviet money—that is between 130 and 170 million dollars, has been actually spent in these countries. During the same years of 1956 and 1957, the United States provided non-military aid to the Middle East and Asia amounting to more than 2 billion dollars, or more than ten times the Soviet payoff. In addition, very large quantities of military aid, logistic supplies and free food were ladled out by our global givers during this two-year period.

IF, AS WE are now told, the soviets can accomplish so much by giving so little away, then why have we accomplished so little while giving so much? Actually, we are far outspending the Soviet bloc on both economic and military aid. Our real concern lies in getting much better value for what we are now giving away rather than making additional and unwarranted billions available to our self-perpetuating planners.

> Beautiful visions of a great and glorious crusade against communism are fed to Congress and the people. But I say, the realities of foreign aid are totally different from these beautiful pictures. I say that there is no slightest possibility that new appropriations will improve the real situation, or bring us any nearer to the promised goal. I say that our foreign aid follies do not serve in any way as a threat to communism, or strengthen our ability to defend ourselves.—SENATOR WILLIAM E. JENNER of Indiana.

At one time only nations that appeared to be friendly were eligible for our foreign aid. Neutralists were to get nothing. But our Washington bureaucrats could not muster up enough friendly nations so the rules were mysteriously changed to enable neutralists—and even communists—to receive the billions wrung from the American taxpayers.

Shortly after President Eisenhower entertained Prime Minister Nehru of India at Gettysburg in December, 1956, a dispatch from New Delhi to the New York *Times* confirmed the fact that the President had pressed an offer of

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new economic aid on Nehru before he had even asked for it. It was reported that: "The President raised the problem of India's economic future. He said that India's second 'five year' plan was a good plan and he wanted to 'boost it'. The President took the initiative on this at the suggestion of State Department experts who knew Mr. Nehru would be reluctant to raise it himself."

Some months later Nehru's bashfulness disappeared. It was announced that the new five year plan would require $1,500,000,000 almost at once and that the United States was expected to give it a boost by handing over about $600,000,000 to prevent the plan from collapse before it could be started. This explains why the White House was so disturbed when, last July, the Congress reduced its demand for $2 billion over a three-year period for economic development projects in "backward nations." Congress, it should be recalled, reduced this from a three to a two-year appropriation. It allows $300,000,000 for the first year, instead of the half billion dollars originally requested. It reduced the expenditure for the second year to $625,000,000 and eliminated the "blank check" for the third year entirely.

> It (Foreign Aid) is wrong because it relieves the State Department from the work—the drudgery, if you will—the thinking and planning required to out-maneuver the opposition. It reduces the need for the shrewdness, the persistence, the imagination, the initiative and the courage required in skillful diplomacy. With the world's problems so difficult and varied and the solutions so hard to find, it is wonderful to be able to hit upon so simple and easy a way out—give away more money! This well may be the area in which the aid program is rendering its greatest disservice.—HON. CHARLES SAWYER, *Former Secretary of Commerce (1948-52)*.

IT HAS just been revealed that the International Cooperation Administration finds itself in the embarrassing position of not yet having spent the $300,000,000 included in this year's budget—now the ICA is doing handsprings to get rid of these hundreds of millions before double this amount is made available for the new fiscal year. Secretary Dulles went to Baghdad to get rid of some of this money quickly and ICA Director Smith has been flying around the Near East trying to do the same before the June 30 fiscal deadline!

Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon, now the coordinator of foreign aid, has, for many months, been actively seeking to obtain a substantial increase in the "blank check" allocation. Dillon,

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with the backing of both the President and the Secretary of State, has called for the immediate availability of the $625,000,000 which Congress specified in the Mutual Security Act of 1957 could not be spent before the fiscal year beginning July 1958. The spending of these hundreds of millions far ahead of schedule would, of course, facilitate the fulfillment of the promise made to Nehru, and, at the same time, would avoid a bitter and prolonged debate in Congress. But it would also nullify the intent of Congress.

THE President, and those who advise and speak for him, appear unaware of the conclusions reached by Industrial Adviser to the International Cooperation Administration in India who said:

"Our extreme vulnerability here (India) seems to me to be in the fact that what we are trying to do is unknown to 80 or 85 percent of the population and only known to at the most 15 percent of the population, the political leaders and educated people who manipulate or suppress this knowledge to suit their political motives of the moment. . . . Two facts may be accepted without question: India is determined to socialize or nationalize all industry as soon as possible, and there exist more offers of aid from sources other than the United States than India can possibly assimilate or accept. "Now, why do we use the American taxpayers' money to accelerate nationalization of industry in India? "The time has passed when they can be converted to private enterprise and all we are buying is a minority interest or liability in a national policy that is ultimately headed for either economic chaos or communism."

In the case of Yugoslavia and Poland, our aid dollars are not even buying a minority interest in a liability. They are actually reducing the liabilities of those who unqualifiedly support the men in the Kremlin and whose avowed purpose was and is to destroy us! Red Dictator Tito and Moscow's Polish puppet, Gomulka, both openly boast that they are and will continue to be bed fellows of the men in the Kremlin. Yet, despite the pro-

> Investigation shows that the program (foreign aid) we are being asked to support has in the main degenerated into a bureaucratic nightmare, in which millions of dollars are wasted. . . . Too often we have forced projects upon countries not ready for them, with the result that we build up, not friendship, but ill will and resentment. In other instances we have scattered our money abroad with such abandon that it is hard to discern what, if any, results we have achieved.—CONGRESSMAN GEORGE MEADER of Michigan.

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nouncements and actions of these two avowed Communists, new excuses are being found to pressure both the Congress and the American people into sending more hundreds of millions after the vast sums already wasted.

Nehru, Tito and Gomulka are but three examples of how the American taxpayers could and should be saved hundreds of millions of wasted dollars, and these savings should be made now.

Four years ago there were 9,793 persons on the government's foreign aid payrolls. Today, there are 18,819 employed in our ICA, State and Defense Departments, to give our resources away. Yet Congress reduced the billions for foreign aid spending from $6 billion in 1953 to $3.5 billions for the current fiscal year. With fewer billions to spend, why do we need twice the number of people to spend them?

If the ICA were to cut down on its field programs, reduce the number of bodies serving it in Washington and throughout the world, two things would happen: The rank and scale of pay of the great mass of officials would be dropped one or more grades, and the still greater mob of jobholders would be substantially reduced. Obviously this will never be done voluntarily by thousands of people who have become careerists and paymasters in the disposal of $5 billion annually and who, as a group, never had it so good. Our Chief Executive and those who plead for him insist upon perpetuating and not reducing this wasteful and top-heavy bureaucracy.

PERHAPS too many of us are under the erroneous impression that the government's perpetual spending for foreign aid is very far away in terms of our own personal economy. But in reality, this is not so. Foreign aid is much closer to our everyday life than most of us realize. Year after year, since the end of the war, our foreign aid expenditures represented our deficit financing. Now there are the added dangers of the national debt already revised and the return to a deficit economy. To continue the annual spending of more than $5 billion (which includes our food giveaway of one billion annually) will make impossible for many years to come a balanced budget with sufficient surplus to provide tax reduction for millions of middle bracket Americans, who are sadly in need of such assistance.

> In the name of national solvency and fiscal stability, if for no other reason, these programs (foreign aid) must be diminished. The patience and generosity of the American taxpayer is not limitless. I, for one, will vote for a substantial reduction in our foreign aid appropriations. SENATOR JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER of Maryland.

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Those who clamor for more foreign aid never mention the fact that our giveaway program has already cost us twice as much as all Social Security benefits, plus aid to the needy, aged, blind and disabled. And it has cost three times as much as all farm programs since the war, and seven times as much as all atomic energy projects.

The $70 billion total for foreign aid spending, which we are now approaching, is the equivalent of one-fourth of our present national debt. The cost of servicing this portion of the debt now approximates $2 billion annually, or one-fourth of the total interest charge. This is a continuing expense.

Last July the Congress, led by such staunch supporters for a sound economy as Congressman Otto E. Passman (D) of Louisiana and the late Lawrence H. Smith (R) of Wisconsin, reduced the Administration's original demand for foreign aid for the current fiscal year by over a billion dollars. This was accomplished in the face of a strong Administration-supported lobby, the assistance of two-thirds of the members of the Senate, the dire predictions of the Department of State and the Pentagon, and the power, prestige and patronage of the President.

THE CUT could and should have been much deeper. Nevertheless, in addition to slashing the President's original demand by 23 percent, Congress, by courageous action, reduced his second demand for a "blank check" from three years to two, and by nearly a billion dollars. Also, the Congress flatly rejected the President's request that it abdicate its lawful control over the foreign aid purse strings by turning over more than $2 billion of foreign military aid to the Department of Defense. By placing this vast sum in the nation's military budget, it would be permanently hidden from both the legislators and the American people who pay the bill.

Year after year as appropriation time approaches, the Administration, its spokesmen and manipulated pressure groups, discover new pretexts to pressure the Congress and propagandize the American people. Last year it was Egypt and Syria. The year before it was the Russian loans (not gifts) to Afghanistan, Burma and India. *Sputnik* was promoted as the excuse for hiking the foreign aid bill by more than a billion dollars and to increase the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank by an additional $2 billion.

Despite bureaucratic pressures, we must not permit foreign aid, presently the cornerstone of our foreign policy, to become the tombstone of our nation. Instead, foreign aid should now be tapered off so that eventually millions will be used to observed advantage where billions are presently being

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wasted. Americans would then have a foreign aid bill from Congress which our Republic could support, one that would no longer be a device for politicians to use for promoting themselves as WPA directors of the world.

Last year, when the President confronted the nation with a bloated $71,000,000,000 budget, the people showered their protests upon Washington to an extent never experienced before. The avalanche of mail hitting Capitol Hill, demanding a deep cut in the foreign aid appropriations, caused panic in the White House as well as in the offices of Senators who were attempting to defend the continuance of unlimited giveaway funds and the maintenance of rivers of waste and extravagance.

Our business-wise citizens must tell their Congressmen again and again that economy and integrity in government are still the greatest weapons we possess. Responsive to the will of the people, Congress, if commanded, will reduce foreign aid, which visibly is yielding diminishing results.

EUGENE W. CASTLE

When the foreign aid bill was being debated in the last session of Congress, the most convincing arguments against it were taken from a revealing new book by Eugene W. Castle, called, "The Great Giveaway."

Its distinguished author had personally visited the scenes of these scandalous foreign dispensations. With the judgment of a successful businessman and the skill of a trained reporter, he has given the American people their most complete and accurate accounts of the biggest boondoggle in all history — the great $65 billion "giveaway" which is currently called "mutual security."

A pioneer producer of motion pictures, he is the founder and former President of Castle Films, which he developed into the largest organization of its kind in the world. More recently he has been an inveterate world-traveler and a deep student of presently troubled world affairs.

It is my hope that his words and wisdom will have a sobering effect upon the Federal spending spree that now threatens to destroy our country.

—DEAN CLARENCE MANION

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We Can Have Victory Without War!

By Peter J. Huxley-Blythe

This highly informative message comes to MERCURY *readers from a former British Naval Officer of unusual knowledge. Peter Huxley-Blythe served in the Battle of the Atlantic, the North African Campaign, in Burma and in the Pacific. Since then he has specialized in the study of Communism in Eastern Europe, with exceptional sources of current information from behind the European International Communist Curtain.*

WHILE Nikita Khrushchev's prediction made last June, that in two generations America would be a Socialist State, was viewed with alarm by some, the vast majority regarded it as a statement to be ridiculed and dismissed as preposterous.

That attitude is dangerous, for Khrushchev *meant exactly what he said.* It should be remembered that when Lenin published *his own blueprint* in St. Petersburg, Russia, in 1908, people refused to take him or his plans seriously. The Bolshevik party membership then was infinitesimal. Yet in 1917 —only nine years later—the same man, Vladimir Ulyanov, more commonly known as Lenin, *seized* power and enslaved a nation of some 150 million people with a Communist Party membership—according to the then Secretary General of the Party, Sverdlov—of only 17,600 adherents . . . a membership less than that of the U.S. Communist Party today!

Partly in answer to this threat from the Red leader but more as a result of *Sputniksteria,* America thinks it will increase its defense expenditure and that, thereby, when Communism launches its attack upon the U.S.A., the nation will be prepared.

The Free World will *not* be conquered by armed might, by the bayonets of Soviet and Red Chinese soldiers. It will be conquered by *Fear.* Fear has always been the main weapon in the Red armory.

Today, despite the successful launching of the pioneer American earth satellite—the Explorer—the people throughout the world remain frightened. They are not, at heart, cowards but the very thought of a future atomic war with A and H bombs dropping

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from outer space, or the warheads of Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles launched thousands of miles away, makes them determined—at all costs—to try to prevent such a catastrophe. This is *exactly* the mental pattern that Khrushchev and his regime want to impose on Western minds.

Utilizing the dread of atomic warfare, powerful batteries of Red propagandists together with a vast horde of "Liberals"—people always anxious to follow Moscow's ideological leadership—are skilfully injecting germs of fear-fever into the healthy body of the American Republic. Simultaneously, the same tactic is being infiltrated into all the other remaining Free Nations. Without exception, the results can be heard and seen in the organized campaigns calling for "Summit" talks and a restriction of atomic development, with the Kremlin acting as cheer-leader.

CERTAIN deluded individuals look to the United Nations in New York to avert this future holocaust, yet they, too, step into a carefully spread web of destruction. Anxiety has dimmed their perspective and their powers of reasoning, as it apparently dimmed that of the NATO Pact leaders when they met in Paris. For one cannot fight International Communism or even attempt to do so, *by surrendering national sovereignty to another international body.*

Sir Winston Churchill—a man who allowed fear of Naziism to influence him against his better judgment by accepting Stalin as a wartime ally—said, while visiting Mussolini in Rome, on January 20th, 1927, that *Patriotism* and love of one's own country were the only weapons which could combat and eventually destroy Communism. No man, be he soldier or civilian, will fight in the face of overwhelming odds *for an international body*, no matter how idealistic it may seem. The Korean war was proof of this assertion.

Those British and American servicemen who went over to the Chinese Communists would never have done so had they been fighting *to protect their homelands*, or an enemy threatening them. Their spiritual armor, *their Patriotism*, had been undermined, not by the Communists in North Korea, but by those politicians who had surrendered them to the service of UN *internationalism*.

The already much publicized Khrushchev demands for a "Summit Conference"—coupled with his threat that unless a period of peaceful coexistence can be achieved at that meeting, the Free World must be prepared to face the alleged Soviet superiority in the realm of ICBM's—are enemy bait for the extinction of our civilized, free, Christian World. On the surface the Soviet demands for "peace" talks appear, to some uninformed

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politicians, to contradict Khrushchev's prognostication and signify that Communism no longer aims either at the subjugation of the United States, or for world domination. That is the impression that the Kremlin *wishes* to give, but the truth is that *a period of peaceful coexistence,* with the exchange of "cultural" and other missions, would mean the final enslavement of the American Hemisphere.

IT IS true that the Red leaders do not want war and therefore they are "sincere" when they scream for "peace", but their ultimate objective remains. They deceitfully will sign non-aggression pacts, which in turn they will rip up at a moment opportune to themselves; in signing them they will *gain time* to undermine the remaining free countries by continued use of *fear hysteria,* until a day will come when all peoples—irrespective of nationality—will be prepared to accept any dictate rather than "risk" annihilation through atomic radiation. Every year that Marxism is allowed to continue its enslavement of Russia, China and East Europe, we are *one year nearer to slavery.*

Back in December, 1930, Sir Winston Churchill published an analysis of peaceful coexistence in the London *Daily Telegraph* and wrote this about nations that attempt to conduct negotiations with the USSR: "Undeterred by this advice [that it was impossible] many have tried the experiment. All have been disillusioned. . . . All in turn have sought to clasp the clammy hand. All in turn have recoiled injured, infected or at least defiled by its chill, poisonous sweat."

The question arises: what will be the effect of the billions of dollars now being spent on U.S. defense? The last word "defense" provides the answer. While the Soviet Union conducts a carefully planned corruptive Cold War, the United States is spending billions on counteracting Red technological advancements. This defensive strategy, unlike the Communist offensive, does not strike at the heart of the enemy. It is *beneficial* to the enemy. It means a vast increase in U.S. taxation and this creates internal U.S. unrest that is easily exploitable by U.S. fifth columnists. American policy and expenditure today is very similar to the "Maginot Line" psychology of the French before World War II.

Prior to World War II, France, suffering from *fear* neurosis, spent billions of francs constructing a complicated network of *defensive* fortifications to prevent the German Army from invading the nation. Having completed this Maginot line, France thought it was impregnable. As history has shown us, while the French people relaxed—confident of defence—in much the same way as sections of the American public are now relaxing after the launching of the *Explorer*—

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German agents, using the same tactics of subversion as the Reds are doing today, infiltrated everywhere and eventually France fell into the German lap like a maggot-eaten apple. The billions of French francs had been dissipated in vain.

As an Englishman analysing American internal affairs, I am open to attack—yet I can assure you that I do this out of fondness for Americans because I consider the United States of America and its Constitution, the only firm *Gibraltar of freedom*. Should America fall, then the lamp of freedom will go out all over the world, perhaps to remain extinguished for centuries.

THE ASSESSMENTS made in this article may appear to some to be incomplete. Those who have given financial support to the "Crusade for Freedom" will say that the broadcasts made by "Radio Free Europe," and beamed behind the Iron Curtain, are the U.S. equivalent of the Red fifth-columns. This, unfortunately, is an illusion. Radio Free Europe is *staffed by Socialist émigrés* who use these hard-earned U.S. dollars *to propagate Socialism;* to tell the enslaved peoples that they will never destroy Communist "achievements". So ludicrous is the situation that the Communist magazine, *New Hungary,* published in London (issue dated October, 1957,) carried an article exposing how Radio Free Europe employees, in the Hungarian Section, are constantly reiterating *their belief in Socialism.* Even if the donators to the "Crusade for Freedom" are unaware of the fact, the *enslaved* peoples of Europe know that John Strachey's statement, "Like all Socialists, I believe that the Socialist Society evolves in time, into the Communist Society . . ." is true. It is impossible to fight Socialism—the Union of Soviet SOCIALIST Republics—with Socialism. Such broadcasts only make the people of Eastern Europe who know that Communism is Socialism, believe that there is no hope for them; that America is determined to support Marxism.

If Americans want to evade the plot so that their grandchildren will not live in a Soviet U.S.A. they must assume the offensive. This does not mean that preparations should commence for an active Atomic war against the Kremlin and the Red *bloc.* For war is not necessary to achieve the destruction of Communism. Not if a policy of *Victory without War* is used as a tactic without delay—to destroy global Communism in the foreseeable future and not at some distant future date when it may be too late. More important still to the U.S. taxpayer, it would cost only a fraction of Washington's Foreign Aid and Maginot-line defense budget.

Behind the Iron and Bamboo curtains the West has *millions of anti-Communist allies;* Patriots

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who, through experience with Marxism at first hand, are permanently innoculated *against* the virus of *Internationalism* and *Socialism*. All of them, without exception, await the day when they can *strike* at their enslavers and, like the Freedom Fighters in Hungary, they will die fighting, rather than return to Communist bondage. But, in addition to the heroism shown by the Hungarians the Budapest revolt of 1956-57 also proved another vital point: that the Soviet-regimented soldier, upon whom Khrushchev must rely is, for the Kremlin, unreliable.

During the Hungarian revolt, thousands of Russian soldiers of all ranks refused to fire upon the Freedom Fighters and, instead, went over to them—taking with them their Soviet tanks, rifles and supplies. There were so many Russian deserters that Cardinal Mindszenty paid tribute to them.

Faced with the Hungarian Patriot dilemma, the Kremlin had to cease the use of Russian soldiers while hand-picked Asiatic Soviet troops were rushed to Budapest. One can well imagine what would happen if armed revolts, well organized and with capable, trusted leadership, broke out *simultaneously* throughout Poland, East-Germany, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Russia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, mainland China and North Korea! Add to this anti-Communist conflagration a militant landing upon the Chinese mainland by the forces of General Chiang Kai-Shek, and the chaos in the Kremlin would be complete. The small number of reliable Red troops would be paralyzed and unable to deal with the outbursts.

THAT would be a policy of *Victory without War in action*. To those few people who have had the opportunity to meet and talk to leaders of various *resistance* groups behind the Iron Curtain, it is common knowledge that millions of people of both sexes and all ages only live for the day when they will have the *means* to obtain their freedom. They do not ask for charity like so many recipients of Foreign Aid, but the opportunity to destroy Marxian Socialism. If this should be accomplished, and the Red Empire destroyed, traitors in the West—like flowers cut off from their roots—would wither away through lack of leadership and financial nourishment.

If a policy of action is not adopted and our leaders are allowed to attend a "Summit Conference" and there agree to "coexist" peacefully, not only will we witness a final betrayal *exceeding that at Yalta and Potsdam* but then another prophecy will come true, one made in the last-known broadcast from a Hungary left to die from the blasting fire of the Red tanks:

"Your turn will be next."

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IN THE MERCURY'S OPINION

Let's Get Rid of Our Grave-Digging Liberals

By Russell Maguire

One of the many depressing things about this great country of ours is that our political Pied Pipers never get excited about national defense until we are already in the fire.

Now, some Republicans and Democrats alike are engaged in a national performance of breast-beating over the *sputnik* and the guided missile. Having lost our long lead over Russia through treason, national grave-digging and stupidity, the same politicians and their egghead advisers are all coming forward with brand-new plans.

What is overlooked in all this hysteria is that the men and groups which are now sounding off about defense are the same people whose bad advice got us into the present mess. Over the years, they have enthusiastically championed every "planned" blunder which has now brought us to our desperate position *vis-a-vis* Russia. For many years they have backed a policy of strengthening Russia and weakening the United States. They have been the deliberate grave-diggers of America's spiritual and material greatness.

Just consider the many opportunities to halt Russia which the United States has forfeited by listening to this "chosen" incompetent crowd.

To recapitulate only some of those major blunders which have occurred in the last 15 years, we painfully remember the following:

1. In 1943, when the Russian armies were still far inside the frontiers of their own country, and the Germans were ready to make a deal which would have kept the Communists out of Western Europe, our great "Liberals" of both parties pumped for "Unconditional Surrender." This gave the Russians a welcome opportunity to get their armies into Europe as far as the Elbe. And they have never withdrawn.

2. In 1945, at Yalta, our "Liberal" leaders doomed China to Communism by offering the Soviets the Chinese mainland under the guise

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of inducing Russia to enter the Japanese War. At the time the war was already won. Japan had made overtures to surrender, and we didn't need the Russians.

3. In 1945-46, our forces were so crushingly superior to any other fighting force in the world that we could have dictated the terms of peace to the world. Instead, the "Liberal" politicians shouted us into the belief that "we must bring the boys home before Christmas." We dismantled our magnificent Army and Navy. Meanwhile, Russia retained her armed strength. Within a year, we had lost our military lead.

4. In 1945, we still had the monopoly of the atom bomb. We retained that monopoly for four years, until 1949. During those four years, we had the power to force Russia to accept any peace or territorial arrangements which we might have imposed. "Liberal" counselors were too stupid to advise our use of the power. We sat on our hands and gave the traitors time to take our secrets to Russia so she could catch up. Under "Liberal" advice, we turned over the whole problem of making a decent peace to the United Nations, which proved for us to be an empty shell.

5. In 1950, having lost the mainland of China to the Communists by our palsied inaction, we had a chance to regain it through the colossal Russian blunder of the Korean War. Under our "Liberal" leadership, we tied our hands behind us in the Korean War and refused to crush Red China while she was a sitting-duck target for our bombers. Finally, President Eisenhower won "Liberal" plaudits by "going to Korea" and by signing a dishonorable armistice with the Reds whom we could easily have wiped out. Thus we forfeited our last chance in Asia.

THESE were the remorseless steps by which we arrived at our present *sputnik* and ICBM crises. Every one of these epochal blunders was planned and made under the counseling of the same people, or their prototypes and by the same public officials who liquidated our "watchdogs" of American security. Now they are telling us what to do about Russia. We have not forgotten that these same people idiotically hailed every one of these five blunders when they occurred as great American "victories."

Can we trust the advice of these national planners today in the light of their stupendous failures? Can we listen to these international henchmen after the disastrous results since 1943? Can impractical wishful thinkers become stern realists overnight? We do not think so.

The call in America today is not only for new programs but for new honest leaders. We need men whose minds are awake to "The Plan" and the delusions of "Lib-

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eralism." We need men who have the vision of the great America which this country can and must be, if it is to escape the Anti-Christ Communist deluge.

Such visioned men are not to be found among the stooges or prattlers who are now pressing their plans upon our "captive" President. They are not to be found in the poisoned swamp of American "Liberalism."

The Four Horsemen

In 1913, four events took place which had an extremely damaging effect on the solvency and sovereignty of the American people. These events are:

1. The creation of the Federal Reserve Bank Act (which was established in order to finance world wars).
2. The graduated Income Tax system was put into effect. (Marx planned to take money from the individual who was the rightful owner and give it to the government which was controlled by the conspirators.)
3. The Anti-Defamation League was organized.
4. The Rockefeller Foundation was granted a charter after several previous refusals by Congress.

We oppose the administration's recommendation to continue the Reciprocal Trade Act as written and any further reductions in tariffs. We feel that some changes are necessary in order to protect American labor and industry against unfair competition from low wage paying countries.

We propose and favor legislation which would encourage trade with other countries on a basis of *a percentage of the wages paid for labor in such countries* as compared to wages paid for labor in the United States. For instance, if the American wage level at the present time is $1 per hour and a certain foreign country is paying 15 cents per hour, imports from that country to the United States should be limited to 15 percent of the American market. Should that foreign country subsequently increase their wages to 50 cents per hour, that country's limit would be increased accordingly to 50 percent of the American market. Should they then pay the same wages as American labor enjoys, there would be no limit whatever on imports from that country.

WILLIAM C. HANSON, *President*
Stevens Point Chamber of Commerce
Wisconsin

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POISONOUS DRUGS in our FOOD

DR. HARVEY W. WILEY was installed as chief of the Chemical Department of the Department of Agriculture in 1883 and held this position until 1912. Through his efforts the Pure Food and Drug Act was passed by Congress in 1906. That Act is still on the books. *It made it a crime to adulterate foods.* But the law has never been enforced.

Today poisons are being injected into food without limit, while the people believe they are protected by this law. A recent compilation shows that approximately 500 chemical materials are being added directly to food for various purposes. The Food and Drug Administration estimates that 150 of these 500 chemicals have not been adequately tested to show that they are harmless.

The Consumer Reports for 1956 read, "An important group of chemicals thought to be safe are synthetic dyes used to color food, drugs and cosmetics. Today 61 have been certified by the Federal Drug Administration for use in food. Since 1945, 15 dyes have been re-examined for toxic carcinogenic (cancer-forming) allergenic properties. Only one of these has been conclusively shown to be harmless."

The poisons used in one nationally sold bottled beverage are clearly in violation of the Wiley law, but the company's business goes merrily on. A tooth immersed in this drink has been proved to be *dissolved in 30 days.* Chemicals are increasingly used in city water supplies to prevent tooth decay, without any competent analysis to indicate what deleterious effects may result.

In 1953, the production of "surface-action chemicals," many of which are used to improve the "stability" of such foods as bread, cake mixes and desserts, reached 921,000,000 pounds. "Agene" was used for 30 years to bleach flour, until the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, found it caused running fits in dogs and affected the mentality of humans. After several years this "Agene" was replaced with a chemical called "Alloxen"—a *poison* used in experimental lab-

By Usher L. Burdick

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oratories to induce diabetes in animals.

Over 1,000 chemicals have been used in foods. About 500 have now been discarded, and of this 500, 150 have not been scientifically tested. Of those which have been tested several have been found carcinogenic.

I receive material and protests on this subject from all parts of the country. Indicating the serious danger of this practice, I quote Dr. William E. Smith, of Englewood, New Jersey, cancer researcher, who said "cancer-inducing chemical additives and dyes are going into food for human consumption."

THERE seems to be a well-formed conspiracy between the big chemical companies and the American Medical Association and the Food and Drug Administration to let these poisonous chemicals be injected into food, not for the safety of public health, but for the *profits* arising from the manufacture of the chemicals. An examination of the records leaves little in doubt as to the facts of this conspiracy.

I want the proper committees of Congress to make a thorough investigation of this matter, which they can do without any extra cost to the people. If we have ample laws now, *they should be enforced*. If not, then new laws should be enacted. One way to avoid cancer is to not create it by eating poisoned foods.

The public, I believe, has a right to rely on the protection Congress and the Attorney General's office can give it.

Phony

We speak of something or someone who isn't telling the truth as being a "big phony." But strangely enough the word *phony* began just as the name of a ring!

It goes back several centuries to Ireland. Some of the country's con men had a favorite trick, which they called the "fawney ring." *Fawney* was the Irish word for ring and this piece of jewelry played an important part in the swindle.

The con man would plant the ring, which contained a glittering but worthless stone, in a public spot. Then he would hide himself nearby and wait until some passerby would pick up the ring. Then he would rush up to the finder and say, "If you give me some money, I won't tell anyone you found this ring." The finder foolishly thought he had found a very valuable ring so he gladly paid the con man a little money and ambled off with his "windfall" in his pocket.

The trick was widely used and people began to refer to anything that was worthless as being *fawney*. Through constant use and mispronunciation the word became *phony* and as such it entered our language.

—ALFRED K. ALLEN

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We must protect our youth from this evil

I Learned Communist Deceit the Hard Way

by General Mark Clark

I'VE HAD ten years' sad experience with the Communists. It started back in Italy in the early days when they assigned to me a bunch of Russian Generals and a political adviser with them by the name of Andre Vishinsky, the same man who harassed us for so many years at military meetings and in the United Nations.

As fast as our men stepped out and with their blood captured towns in the mountains of Italy, the Communists, right after us, unbeknown to us, would go in and organize those villages for communism; that is how far-reaching is their sinister thinking. I went through the Italian campaign and then into Austria for two years, where I met almost daily with the Communists, and I learned there, and later at the Council of Foreign Ministers meetings in England and Moscow—and later in Korea—that there is *no* fair play, there is *no* honesty, there is *no* decency, in the Communists.

They will cheat, they will lie, they will murder, they will do anything to attain their end of world domination, and they will sign a solemn pledge today, fully intending to abrogate that pledge tomor-

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row. So, it's no wonder that when I went back home, after five years in Europe, I hoped and prayed that I never would be confronted with communism or Communists again.

But that was not my lot, for then I was assigned as the Commander in Chief of the Far East, and there again we saw this filthy and foul enemy who conformed to none of the recognized rules of law or warfare. We met him, this time, on the battlefield, in the mountains of Korea. There, as you know, we fought a war with our hands tied.

We should, in my opinion, *in our first test of arms with communism,* have stepped out and won that war.

We could have done so, but that war, unlike the one in Italy, was not left to the military commanders in the field. The signals were called from Washington; the opinions of our allies—and others—influenced the decisions that were made for us *not* to step out and deliver the ringing defeat that we were then capable of doing. Our enemy killed our wounded soldiers as they lay on the field of battle; he took them prisoners—and we have documentary evidence that he shot them in the back of the head.

WE MUST resist this evil force at work to control us and to control the souls and the hearts of our youngsters, our most precious asset—for they are the leaders of tomorrow.

My interest in our American youth, I expect, is why I went to the Citadel from Korea. I was over in that disgraceful sort of war that we were fighting, and one day I had called in my commanders—the airmen, the Navy fellows and the groundmen—thinking perhaps we could dig up something we could do to the Communists *within the limitations that were imposed upon us by Washington.* As we sat around the table thinking could we bomb this?—what *could* we do?—a message came from the United States, and a telegram was handed to me. It was signed, James Byrnes, Governor of the State of South Carolina, and it said, "Would you be interested in being president of the Citadel—the military college of our State?" I'll say I was interested. I was interested in any other job than the one I had over there. I sent him back a message: "You bet I'm interested." I said, "I don't know when we will finish this thing up, but I hope it won't be too long." And then I sort of relaxed, and I had a little momentary fun drafting a message to the State Department. I never sent it, but I had pleasure preparing it. In the Army for 40 years, I actually had been in educational work, training youngsters. When I turned in my soldier's suit, after signing the humiliating armistice in Korea, I thought I'd like, in the

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rest of my years, to do something of which I could be proud. I wanted to work with young Americans—and that is what I am doing.

Many people ask me if these youngsters that I had in Korea and Italy were as good fighters as their pappies. I say, "You bet your life they are, but they are more inquiring." They want to know why. It wasn't so hard to answer their questions over in Italy, but I had a terrible time answering them why they were in Korea, *and why they were not permitted to step out and win*. In Korea, our airmen could go up to the Yalu River and there look down and across it—see bridges that we were not allowed to destroy, see airfields loaded with Mig 15's and see Communist ammunition dumps and other kinds of storage places piled to the sky with paraphernalia designed by the Communists to kill our men! Their killers came across the river unmolested with these weapons of war and I was not permitted to take out those bridges. If I'd had the authority and Washington had let me, I would have bombed Manchuria and North China.

And so I say prayerfully let's be strong and unafraid from now on. That is the only way that we can keep the blessings and the freedoms that we fought so hard to preserve and which are guaranteed to us under the shield of our great Constitution. May God bless you.

—From General Clark's stirring address to The American Legion.

Wise Words and a Patriot to Remember

If the United States doesn't bring the Korean War to a decisive and *victorious* end she will have to accept all the consequences of a disastrous defeat . . . You assume, of course, that relatively your strength is going up much more than the enemy's. That is a *doubtful* assumption . . . You do not know, none of us know, the capacity of the enemy. He may build faster than we do.

—General Douglas MacArthur, warning The Congress of the United States after a little man named Harry Truman had "fired" him.

When You Change Your Address

In order that you may receive the American Mercury each month without interruption, please notify the Subscription Department, 250 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y., well in advance when changing your address. Thirty days' notice is required, and your *old* address as printed on the magazine wrapper must be given, as well as your new address.

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WHY PEOPLE BECOME COMMUNISTS

by Robert W. H. Welch Jr.

Robert W. H. Welch, Jr., of Boston (no kin of the Joseph Welch who lent himself to the White House crucifixion of Senator Joseph McCarthy) is one of our Republic's great and dedicated fighters of alien socialism; a citizen of world-wide travels and studies in addition to many successful businesses. For several years he wrote and published a distinctive little pamphlet "magazine" he called One Man's Opinion. *So intelligent and informed were his writing labors that, beginning in 1958, he has changed the title to* American Opinion, *and has begun to expand its distribution each month to more and more American Patriots. Here, for* MERCURY *readers, is one of the most intelligent and astute analyses ever composed on the often puzzling subject of why so many men and women become identified with International Communism. It gives* MERCURY *readers, at last, the ammunition to* fight *communism more intelligently.*—ED.

THE REASONS why people become Communists are numerous, diverse, overlapping—and quite orthodox—expressions of human psychology. Some of these reasons have been conscientiously reported, by such reconverts to Americanism as Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, out of deep personal experience. Arthur Koestler, George Orwell, and many other writers have brought detailed knowledge and penetrating insight into discussions of what *makes* a Communist and what makes him tick.

The Star Gazers: We begin our list with the appeal of communism to the idealism of its prospective converts. A young man or woman dreams of making this "a better world." He sees poverty, suffering, around him. He is told that *socialism* will abolish these things. He does not know that the very poverty, suffering, injustice, and class distinctions at which he is looking have been reduced, by the American competitive form of society, to their lowest levels ever reached, at any place on this planet, or at any

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time in history. He does not know that their reduction to a further minimum is directly dependent on, and proportioned to, the freedom of individuals from government paternalism.

Even less does the idealistic young man know that socialism itself—far from eliminating poverty, suffering, injustice, and class distinctions—will inevitably *increase* them all. This idealistic young man becomes convinced by glib tutors that socialism offers not only a way, but the only way, to bring about the "brave new world" of which he has a vision. He accepts the term "communism" as meaning socialism in its ultimate and most beneficial form, and that Communists are the *most sincere* and praiseworthy of all those who profess to be socialists. For only the Communists, he is told, are willing to dedicate their lives to the active fight to establish a world-wide, collectivist *Utopia*. He is daily taught that the noblest plans are thwarted and delayed only by the willful selfishness of those who exploit their fellow men in a capitalistic system; he comes at last to accept the communist doctrine, that *any means are justified* in order to impose a communist organization of society on the whole world for its own good.

He later learns, under relentless pressures, to be ever more resolute and "realistic", in accepting and carrying out duties assigned to him in furtherance of communist aims. Finally even treason and murder become methods to condone, or virtuous actions to be performed, when they serve the needs of a crusading army which is marching on to total and glorious victory.

The Lonely Hearts: Another attraction of communism depends on the basic loneliness of so many individuals. The communist program not only seems to give meaning and purpose, however criminal, to lives which otherwise would be empty of both; it gives a sense of *belonging*, of sharing the comradeship and objectives and total strength of a vast army of fellow soldiers, to individuals who otherwise would feel lost, alone and unwanted.

THERE IS a need, psychologists know, in each human spirit to be a part of something greater than itself, to lessen the futility of an egocentric existence by *doing* something that is *important to a group*. It is tragic but true that many a miserable free man is changed by communism into a happy slave. This urge is very strong in many. Membership in the Communist Party, or adherence to its organizational hives, is more demanding, more exclusive of other interests—and of far more significance in its impact on the individual's own life—than any other loyalty that individual may assume anywhere in the world today; with

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the single exception of devotion to fundamentalist Christianity.

Big Snobs With Little Equipment: A very important appeal of communism, not nearly so deserving of sympathy as those discussed above, is to the intellectual snobbishness of the man or woman with a sophomoric mind. There is nobody as fond of the adulation of the so-called "intellectuals" as the pseudo intellectual who has acquired the jargon, without the knowedge, of ideological scholarship. Being treated by these more astute "intellectuals" as one of them, and hence as *superior* to the bourgeois herd of "Philistines," is the greatest thrill an addlepated "liberal" can enjoy. And the real communist scholars, unlike those in any other field, are willing to go along with and encourage the pretensions of a superficial phony, if their doing so serves *any* communist purpose. Frequently it does. For such an individual—through inherited wealth, or high political position within the family, or the possession of a famous name, or through some other fortuitous means—may be able to supply *prestige* or *money* or *influence* to his communist friends and to communist enterprises. In that case even the most deeply learned of the Communists are entirely willing to put their tongues in their cheeks, and lead their "patron" to believe that he is a reincarnated combination of Plato and John Stuart Mill.

MANY OF these stupid victims of flattery, especially in the upper social or political levels, do not *join* the Communist Party or actually become Communists in any technical sense. Communism is a serious business. There is nothing the Communists can afford less, or dislike more, than to be made to look ridiculous. Half-baked exhibitionists as prominent—or as conspicuous—as Eleanor Roosevelt, Henry Wallace, or William O. Douglas, would *not* be wanted as Party Elite members.

But many a gain for the communist side, in the *cold war* against our Republic has been made by such players, who either didn't know or didn't care that they were providing useful weapons for the Kremlin. They are too constantly puffed up and exhilarated by all the applause and mental backslapping from the real members of the communist conspiracy.

Just Little Snobs: At the lower levels of the communist apparatus men who bask in the fellowship and flattery of people whom they inwardly regard as their intellectual superiors—and as their superiors in daring, initiative, and leadership—are to be found in almost every communist cell. A great many of the half-educated pedants of the academic cloisters, in particular, belong in this classification. They join —or affiliate themselves with—the Communists, because their accept-

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ance into such "progressive" circles gives reassuring external support to their false show of scholarly standing—which otherwise is not convincing, even to themselves.

THE ACADEMIC world supplies more than its proportionate share of American pro-Communists. College faculties are not the only source of men who are made communists by envy, but "operation envy" is simpler to explain and easier to understand in connection with collegiate raw material than any other.

Envy serves as a communist tool. Skillfully used by dedicated tacticians, it molds many a lukewarm prospect into an ardent *member* of the Party.

Hatred, also, is a very powerful emotion among human beings. In the early days of the New Deal, Rexford Tugwell emphasized the importance of bitterness—toward capitalism and capitalists—in the campaign to bring about these social changes advocated by himself and his fellow "liberals". He urged the faithful to spur themselves on *by an energizing hatred.*

The driving force in the whole life and philosophy of Karl Marx was *hatred*—of everybody who was not as foul as himself. Hatred was the one, and the decisive, contribution of Lenin to the mood of the Russian Revolution and an International Communist strike for Russian power. We find countless exhibits of the same brand of sulphurous hatred coming to the surface in contemporary America, as in the desecrative utterances of Milton Mayer or the obscene blasphemies of Langston Hughes.

Hatred, of the laborer for his boss, of colored people for their white neighbors and vice-versa—wherever there is a climate in which it can be cultivated, hatred is both a product of communist effort and a *necessity* of communist progress. Sowing the seeds of such hatred and nourishing the crop is the constant work of many minds and hands, trained to make the greatest possible use out of every tragic opportunity. One result of all this fomentation of hatred is the continuous recruitment of additional workers, attracted to the trouble-making by a sympathetic feeling for its *ostensible* public aims. These recruits range from Negro tenant farmers to the presidents of great universities. And identically the same envy or hatred of their fellow men—whom they may consider better treated than themselves by the American system—may be the most powerful impulse to the acceptance of communism on the part of both.

Involuntary Captives: But not all Communists or pro-Communists become such by persuasion and indoctrination. Many are *driven* into the fold by blackmail, terrorism, other forms of coercion. The blackmail approach is most widely and

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profitably used by the Kremlin's agents on brilliant men who have the extreme misfortune to be homosexuals. Such men seem to gravitate almost automatically into government service. They have a built-in and fundamental predisposition to resent the accepted moral standards and beliefs of our society. They also have—always over their heads—a threat of personal disgrace far more disturbing than a jail sentence. These unfortunate individuals become putty for molding by communist techniques into disciplined if not devoted members of the Party. Also, because of the introvert brilliance, often, of their minds,—and their obsessive desire for success and public recognition to counterbalance a guilt-consciousness that is ever with them—they develop into some of the most highly-placed and most potent Communists in any government. For these reasons it is not too surprising or unusual to find one of these agents of the conspiracy smoothly and subtly promoting its aims, as a high functionary of our State Department, or as the scientific or administrative head of some great foundation or international organization. They can be *very* dangerous.

"Most Flagrant of the Passions": This brings us logically to the next classification, which consists of those who are converted into communists by the appeal of the carrot, without any brandishing of a stick being necessary. The most effective carrot—especially for the ruthlessly ambitious spirits whom the Communists wish most to have on their side—is *the promise of personal power.*

IN RUSSIA, since Stalin consolidated his dictatorship and liquidated all of the old Bolsheviks along with whatever idealistic revolutionary fervor still remained; in China almost from the very beginning of the communist drive; in most other countries since Stalin's control over International Communism became virtually complete; everywhere, for the past two decades, *the sheer lust for power* has been the primary motivation of those who achieved high standing in the communist "aristocracy". What has been presented to the world as a revolutionary movement based on ideological considerations, and what is still so presented to the outside masses and to millions of its own proletariat today, *long ago degenerated in fact into a plain conspiracy of gangsters.*

So the cunning man without conscience, in any country, who sees in the whole vast communist apparatus the opportunity and means of achieving power over others, may join the Party for that ultimate purpose. The more clearly he sees from the very beginning that the Party's ideological pretenses are merely a sham and a weapon

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—so far as those in the top ranks are concerned—*the more rapidly he advances within the hierarchy.* In time he benefits at the level of baron, earl, or prince, from all the labor of the serfs at the bottom of the International Communist organizational pyramid. And whatever his position at any given moment, in this unconfessed but rigid order of ascending privilege and power, he *never* ceases scheming and striving to climb higher still.

In the United States of the nineteenth century such men would have set out to acquire this desired power through amassing great wealth by almost any means. Some of them still do. A generation ago men like Al Capone went into the rackets. Some of them still do. Twenty years ago men of the same type went into the lush fields of mushrooming labor unionism. Many still do. But, increasingly over the past two decades, men with this lust for power have gone into *the vastly more expansive racket of imposing a secret communist gangsterism on all the rest of America.*

There are differences, of course. The earlier racketeers were willing to use *almost any means* to accomplish their ends. The Communists use *any means,* without qualification. Because of the importance attached to the ideological argument, in the arsenal of communist weapons, education and suavity are of far more value to the ambitious Communists than they ever were to the buccaneering financier, or to the boss of a hoodlum battalion in some so-called labor union. The communist "racket" has attracted far better educated, more deceptive, *and hence more dangerous men,* to its ranks. Out of these lower ranks, the most cunning, most ruthless, and most dangerous have risen to be its leaders.

"The Way to Promotion and Pay": Finally, we come to the pure opportunist. Here is the man who does not consciously chart the course of his own future. But he does want always to float with, instead of to struggle against, the current. He is keen enough to sense the direction of the current, even in waters that seem placid to the less shrewd observer. It is a frightening fact that he and his kind now probably constitute *the largest single source of converts to communism*—or at least to an actively sympathetic attitude towards Communists—as more and more "wise guys," even in America, become convinced that communism really is "the wave of the future."

WHETHER these contemporary vicars of Bray are correct as to the ultimate total victory of the side they have chosen remains to be seen. But the evidence of their wisdom, as to the *immediate* practical and material results of their betrayal of both country and civili-

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zation, is visible on every hand. To pay off, this betrayal does not even have to be active or premeditated; it can be passive, or unintentional, or both. So strong and all-pervasive has now become the communist influence and the secret International Communist strength in this Republic, that you *do not even have to be pro-communist to reap the rewards of Communist favor*. All you have to do, for the ubiquitous wheels of this conspiracy to start turning on your behalf, is to be visibly and vigorously *anti-anti-communist*. You fight the enemies of the Communists, and Communists will fight, in dozens of ways which you cannot see and may not suspect, to lift you up.

Does anybody believe that Dore Schary's leanings to the left did not materially aid his meteoric career in Hollywood? Or that Drew Pearson's column would be syndicated in as many U.S. newspapers today, if he had not done such a grand job in the past of making trouble for those who made trouble for the Communists? Or that Walter Reuther would have such tremendous and growing power in the American labor movement, if he had not once, among other acts, written a letter glorifying Soviet Russia and urging an equally glorious form of society for the United States?

The other side of the coin has the stamp of the same regime. Does anybody think that George Meany's standing and future in the AFL-CIO have not been seriously damaged by, or will not gradually be undermined because of, his *outspoken opposition* to International Communism? Or that John O'Donnell's syndicated newspaper column has not been turned down by newspapers—even good newspapers which would really like to carry it—because of his *known intolerance* for traitors in our midst? Or that Corinne Griffith's movie career was not hurt by her crusading speeches in opposition to communist doctrines? Or that General Kirk Lawton's retirement was not forced as a result of his patriotic effort to help in the exposure of Communists under his command at Fort Monmouth?

Thus catalogue of reasons why people become Communists is by no means comprehensive. We have, for instance, barely touched the edge of the thinking expressed by "if you can't lick 'em, join 'em." The target most vulnerable to this philosophy is the very man who sets out most energetically to fight the Communists. He gradually finds, on digging in, that they are much more insidiously penetrating every cranny of our national existence, and are already so much further advanced, than he had ever dreamed. He succumbs to a feeling of hopelessness over the blind *complacency* of his fellow citizens, and over their unwillingness even to take an honest look at the Marxian

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flood creeping up all around them.

There are other reasons, both real and imaginary, for the steady influx into the communist camp. With the single exception of the man who is propelled by pure idealism alone, into a foul conspiracy which he mistakes for a self-sacrificing "brotherhood," every convert to communism has been pulled into the fold by a combination of reasons and arguments of varying proportions. Nor do the indoctrination, persuasion, and coercion ever stop, even after he has become a veteran Party member. Year by year, and month by month, the communist flood rises.

ESPECIALLY do the secret members of the communist conspiracy—which outweigh the open members in America, in both numbers and importance by at least ten to one—increase their permeation of our whole social body. They go about their daily business or professional jobs, and their social work and civic undertakings, exactly as do you and I, with nothing outward to distinguish them from loyal citizens. But the power and reach of their cumulative effort are becoming visible on every hand, in the results they steadily achieve. You merely have to look each New Year's Day at how much closer the United States is to becoming a communist nation than it was a year before; at how much closer the whole world is to becoming an International Communist empire, to realize how unmistakably and steadily the Communists are *winning* their cold war everywhere. They are winning it in, among other places, our press, our pulpits, our radio and television media, our labor unions, our schools, our courts—and in the legislative halls of America. They expect to go on winning it while most of us refuse to believe that, in our country, anybody but a few crackpots ever become Communists.

We had better start believing—fast—the overwhelming evidence of our sense and our senses.

Our national foreign policy, interpreted from reading the daily news, may be expressed very simply as follows: War must be avoided at all costs. Yet, we must continue to spend $125 billion to $30 billion a year for perhaps 20 years, until either Russia is destroyed from within or decides to start World War III as a last resort. If we contiune to spend this amount of money on defense year after year, for a possible future war, the costs will be prohibitive and inflation is going to prove a very serious problem in the United States. The amount of deflation this Nation can stand without complete chaos is very small. The economic effects of quickly reducing defense expenditures would, of course, be catastrophic.

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Today could be America's greatest hour

Your Republic

or a Socialist State

BY E. F. HUTTON

SENATOR KEFAUVER has been fussing over the cost of steel. But some facts hit him in the face. So he announced a recess, saying, "The whole matter of costs and prices requires further investigation." Mr. Kefauver is not an economist. He is a politician.

The United Steel Workers of America assert that out of company profits, higher wages can be absorbed without increasing steel prices. That's a honey!

Wages have gone up and up since the end of World War II, but not according to Steel Workers' logic. Facts and arithmetic prove it to be wrong. Suppose the 1946 level of steel prices had been maintained through 1956. Suppose the industry had shipped what it actually did ship during those ten years. Assume that wages and other costs did advance as much as they actually did. Where would the steel industry be today? Based on official figures, it would be $21,000,000,000 in the red!

This couldn't have happened because the steel industry would have been bankrupt long before it could have created a deficit of $21,000,000,000. The shipments would never have left the plants because the plants would never have been built, nor the men have been employed.

Neighbor, steel prices, like all other prices, *must* reflect increases in the cost of doing business, *including wages,* or broke you go. On the American scene, the wrong way to have peace is to buy it; to buy off a racketeer because it may prevent strife.

What business are you in—steel,

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motors, chemicals, foods, planes? What's your chance of running your plants when labor goons say "no" unless you compromise with the principle of dictatorship by *buying* protection, or granting an unearned raise to prevent a shutdown? Do you go along, agreeing to something you know is wrong, rather than stand on what you know is right? That's how the American industrial know-how can be boxed up and buried for keeps.

In 1776, Americans believed anything was better than knuckling under to a bully. So the 13 colonies told King George III to take his rough hands off their backs and permit them to play their own game in their own way.

TODAY could be America's greatest hour if those who believe in a free economy would shoulder their full share of responsibility to keep it free, based on Constitutional rules and regulations.

It's you who must decide. On your actions and your courage will depend whether this is your Republic—or just a socialistic state!

Top Secret!

From a report by the Freedom of Information Committee of Sigma Delta Chi (journalism fraternity) and other sources, we list below some absurd examples of secrecy:

- The State Department refused to list the number of nonofficial Russians traveling in the United States. This, obviously, had to be kept secret from the Kremlin.
- Pictures of lush furnishings in a military transport plane were stamped secret.
- Government experts translate technical articles from Russian scientific journals and mark the translations secret.
- The Pentagon has affixed for-military-use-only classification on official weather data. But anyone, including the Soviet Ambassador, can dial the Pentagon, ask for extension 7-9355, and get the weather forecast from a recording which concludes: "This information is for military use only and dissemination to the public is not authorized."
- The Department of Labor censored statistics on armed services' purchases of peanut butter on the grounds that this would bare the number of men in the services. At the same time the Defense Department was issuing monthly reports on the number of men in service.

—CONGRESSMAN H. R. GROSS of Iowa

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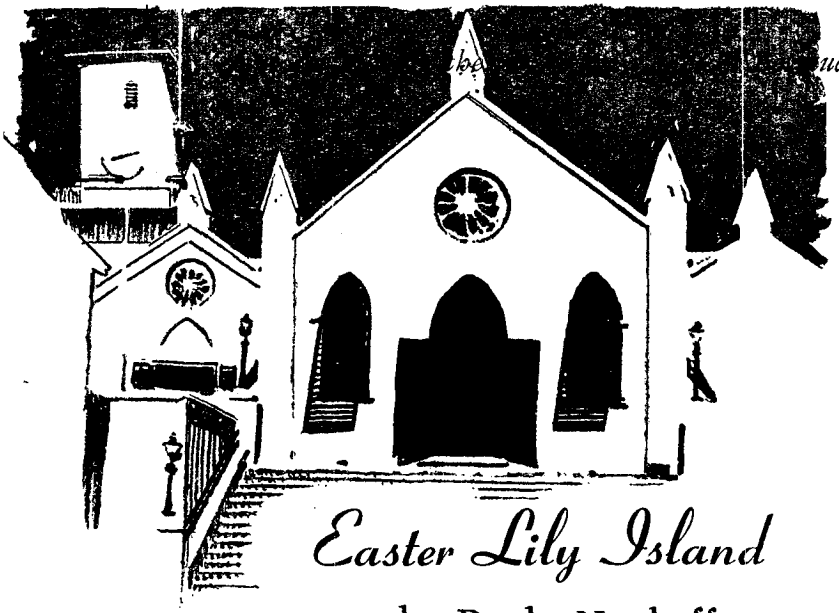

Easter Lily Island

by Bertha Newhoff

A BLEAK ISLAND off the Chilean coast bears the name of Easter, but the real Easter island is Bermuda. Nowhere else on earth, not even in Jerusalem or Rome, is Easter celebrated with such joy. Yet, fifty years ago, the holiday observed on the island was a solemn occasion, not a festive one. A flower that came to Bermuda a little over a century ago brought about the change, a flower whose history in the island was, from the beginning, a story of faith.

The man who brought the first lilies to Bermuda was a missionary and an amateur botanist. Both his name and denomination are unknown now, but it is known that his field of service was Japan and that on one of the southern islands of that chain he discovered a species of wild, white lily he had not seen elsewhere. Bulbs of the plant were packed in his luggage when in the summer of 1853 he sailed for his homeland, England. A storm damaged the ship in which he voyaged, and sent it scurrying for safety into St. George's harbor, Bermuda. That event was one of the happy accidents of history.

While the ship was being repaired the missionary stayed with his old friend, the Reverend Mr. Roberts, Rector of Radnor. As a thank-you gift, he left his host some of the lily bulbs he had in-

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tended to try growing in England. Bermuda's climate was so much like Japan's that he believed the lilies would have an excellent chance to flourish there.

That fall the bulbs were planted in the rectory garden. Though the missionary had described the beauty of the flowers, no one was quite prepared for the reality when those in Mr. Roberts' garden opened. Everyone who saw them in their gleaming, pure whiteness stopped to express their admiration and to ask questions about them. What kind of lilies were they? Wildlings, they had no name, but as they were in full bloom on Easter, April 16, 1854, many who saw them gave them the name they have borne ever since, Easter Lilies.

As gifts from one gardener to another, the Easter Lily spread through Bermuda. Everywhere its beauty was appreciated and cherished, but no one thought of commercializing it. At that time Bermuda's agriculture was built on another member of the lily family, the onion. Almost every farmer on the island shipped onions to the United States. One of these growers was Russell Hastings, a general in the War Between the States, who had moved to Bermuda after that conflict. He began putting a few lily bulbs into each bag of onions he shipped and was soon receiving more orders than anyone else.

Other growers began to wonder why Hastings sold more onions than they and he explained about the bonus of bulbs in each sack he sold. When others added bulbs to their onions more orders than ever before were received, though growers in the States wanted to buy lilies instead of onions. Still, only a few extra acres of Bermuda's soil were given to lily culture until the Centennial Exposition was held in Philadelphia in 1876. A grateful customer had brought W. K. Harris, a Philadelphia florist, a few lily bulbs as a gift when she returned from a Bermuda trip. At the Exposition he showed a plant grown from one of these bulbs. In full bloom, it was magnificent. That show plant created an international demand for Easter Lilies, since visitors from all over the world were attending the Exposition. Thousands of orders for bulbs went to Bermuda growers.

LAND formerly planted in onions was now planted with lilies. By the end of the century millions of lily bulbs were being shipped out. To most people they were Easter Lilies, but to the botanist they were—and are—*Lilium Harrisii* in honor of Mr. Harris.

Just when Bermuda's economy had become dependent on the lily, mosaic appeared. This disease attacked not only the stalk and flower, but also the bulb. Growers felt helpless as they watched their lilies wilt and die in the fields. Unless

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mosaic could be eradicated or a mosaic-resistant plant could be developed quickly, the island's lily industry would be destroyed. Japan, recently having become aware of the demand for lilies, was putting its bulbs on the world market, adding to Bermuda growers' woes.

It was at this time that work was begun to develop a lily that would withstand the mosaic disease. After twenty years of work, one grower, Howard Smith of St. David's Island, had a large number of experimental bulbs. From some of them, he was sure, the long desired, mosaic-immune lily would come. While he was visiting in the United States, most of his bulbs were stolen. Feeling the work of so many years had been wasted, he was too hopeless to start over and carelessly dumped the remaining bulbs into a field.

Later that spring some wild *longifolium* lilies in the same field bloomed, just as one of Mr. Smith's lilies bloomed, for the second time that year, a rare occurrence for lilies. A cross was made between this lily and the wildlings and from that cross a new strain of lilies was developed. Not only was it disease-free, but it was larger and hardier than the *Lilium Harrisii*. Also, it bloomed later, a boon to growers in years when Easter is late. In honor of Mr. Smith it was named *Lilium Howardii*.

A third lily, the St. David's Island Easter Lily, has recently been introduced. Its blooming time is between that of the other lilies, making it right for growing in seasons when Easter comes midway between March 22 and April 23. Larger than any other, its blooms are a foot long and nine inches across at the open end.

From March to May, wherever you go in Bermuda, you walk between fields of lilies. Churches are bedecked with them. Through the holiday week stands of growing lilies may be seen cut into religious symbolic designs. On Thursday of each Easter week a parade of lilies is the gala event in Hamilton, the capital. Floats decorated with lilies, often having a religious theme, compete for prizes.

LILIES are Bermuda's only important export. One seventh of the tillable soil is devoted to their culture. Bulbs are shipped out in late summer. Except in areas where the temperature is never under sixty-five or over eighty-five, they are grown in most of the world as house plants. Cut lily blooms are shipped by plane to New York and other American ports in the spring to be sold as cut flowers.

Though the lily may "toil not nor spin," it has brought prosperity and beauty to Bermuda. The loveliness and grace that so delighted the missionary more than a hundred years ago make it worthy to be one of the world's floral symbols of faith.

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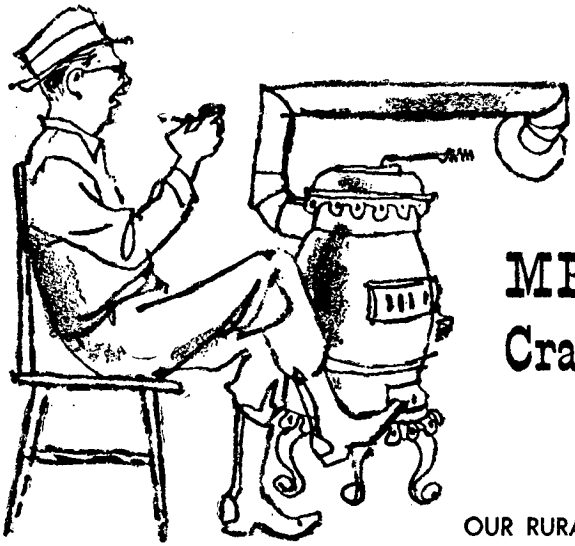

MERCURY'S Cracker Barrel Corner

OUR RURAL EDITORS SPEAK OUT

Too many of us long ago agreed that politics is rotten—so we just sat back and let it rot. Thus we not only bask in self-imposed ignorance but are permitting ourselves to be duped.

"Let sleeping dogs lie!" someone cautions. "*We're* getting along, so why stir up somethin' . . . ?"

But, if you and I, having knowledge, continue to sit idly by and do nothing, we'll see *ourselves* kicked around more and more—in time. Let's demand our rights and see to it that we *get* them.

THE MCDONALD COUNTY PRESS
Noel, Missouri

So long as protection against compulsory unionism is only guaranteed by 18 of the 48 States, then only that portion—37½ percent—can claim the distinction of providing for its citizens any real employment freedom. The United States is, thus, only 37½ percent free. The Mississippi *Right to Work* law should be strengthened. Should the Mississippi legislature ever be reapportioned, the few points in the State where sizable labor dictators exist could suddenly find themselves with new legislative power. Our *Right to Work* law, which is doing so much to encourage our continued growth, can be in danger of repeal.

THE WEST POINT TIMES-LEADER
West Point, Mississippi

For sheer unadulterated rot, we give you—Mr. Norman Cousins! He says, on the front page of the Methodist Advocate: "The UN is still our best hope for peace; we will support with all the means at our command the attempt to develop the United Nations to the fullest, and to strengthen it as it has to be strengthened to replace world anarchy with effective world law. . . . Insistent world problems should be settled on the basis as defined by a world court, and enforced by the United Nations."

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There are those of us who will cheerfully die in our efforts to restore those lost freedoms and destroy the "Golden Calf" called the United Nations. We want no part of *world government* or *world court!*

THE SUMMIT SUN
Summit, Mississippi

The U.S. should learn a lesson from Tito; you can't do business with the devil; we can't buy alliance with Tito. What has pouring millions in foreign aid to Communist Yugoslavia availed us? We've given Tito 1½ *billion* U.S. dollars. He's been getting more chummy than usual with Soviet Party Boss Khrushchev. One and one-half billion dollars to this deceitful barbarian in less than eight years is a barrelful of money. Its cheap *only* if we've learned one can't compromise with principle, or do business with the devil.

THE JACKSON SENTINEL
Maquoketa, Iowa

Our legislators have shown a fear of the unions and have passed legislation that made it possible for organized groups to have their way by working a hardship on the common people. Somewhere, somehow, there must be a happy medium for the unions and the non-union workers to get along together and work with industry in harmony. If the labor unions have their way it won't be long before we'll all be working for the unions and the government!

THE AZTEC INDEPENDENT
Aztec, New Mexico

Admission of defeat is bitter, but I am forced to bow to the Republicans. Never, even in the heyday of our administration, were we Democrats able to keep a full-blown inflation and recession going at the same time. The mystery of the achievement must lie in some basic principle that would affect a man running backward and forward at the same time.

MATADOR TRIBUNE
Matador, Texas

The Export-Import Bank gave Communist Poland ("loaned") ten million to modernize its mines. The result, as has been said before, was that the Poles cut the Argentine market out from under United States producers—producers who not only pay high wages but have to furnish their own capital, rather than getting advances at the expense of the American taxpayer.

THE MADISONVILLE MESSENGER
Madisonville, Kentucky

Those who feel that more Government spending is the solution to all farm problems should take a lesson from the American farmers—73 percent of whom voted against increased Government spending for farm programs. Farmers feel that they would be more prosperous if they had more freedom and less Government interference.

The Farm Journal shows 61 percent voting for less or no Government help, while only 39 percent asked that present Government programs be continued or increased.—CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM S. HILL of Colorado

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AND NOW:

ELEANOR'S

Oppenheimer Myth

WE SHED light on Eleanor Roosevelt's erroneous statement that her husband had to insert segregation clauses into his land deal project of Warm Springs, Georgia, because the law of Georgia, she said, required it (see *Eleanor Roosevelt's Warm Springs Myth* in the February MERCURY). There was and is no such law in Georgia. We consider it again much in the American public's interest if not the UN's, to challenge another statement made by this strange woman. The amount of misinformation she is giving her fellow countrymen in her devious writings is one of the phenomena of modern times.

J. Robert Oppenheimer

In a recent column, read—we are told—by unsuspecting millions, she said: "I feel a little sad that our country has to forego the services of one of the finest scientific minds in the world. Dr. Oppenheimer was never accused of anything except having felt, as most scientists do, that progress in science should be shared, regardless of nationality. The scientific approach makes this almost inevitable, and I cannot understand the attitude of fear which now has enveloped us."

MERCURY Patriots better read that statement by Mrs. Roosevelt a second time, carefully. It is cleverly complete with the best *Manhattan*

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brainwashing technique. Now for the facts: It is a fact that Dr. Oppenheimer, now at the Institute of Advanced Studies in Princeton, N.J. was never accused "of anything except having felt, as most scientists do, that progress in science should be shared, regardless of nationality"?

We have Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's complete *dossier* before us, as collected by accurate researchers over many years. One federal document alone contains 67 pages of very fine type. If, as Mrs. Roosevelt trickily states, her current pet, Oppenheimer, did only what *"most scientists do,"* we as a Republic might as well give up.

For seven vital years, J. Robert Oppenheimer got himself into the position of being our key official in the atomic energy field—with access to all our official secrets. If he had had any American spirit, he would have recognized that the holding of such a position of trust *imposed* upon him the obligation of supreme care in the selection of his personal associates and more caution in his social conduct than the average citizen. Federal investigators, however, found that:

1. His brother, Frank, with whom he lived on terms of great intimacy, was a dues-paying *member* of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. No investigator thinks that J. Robert did not know this.

2. He married a Mrs. Joe Dallett, widow of a Communist Party of the U.S.A. member who was killed in Spain.

3. He, J. Robert Oppenheimer, contributed money in cash to the Spanish Communists through one Thomas Addis, a Communist Party ASA member.

4. He, J. Robert Oppenheimer, for eight years carried on a clandestine relationship, intimate in character, with one Jean Tatlock, a known Communist—until her suicide.

Are these four items of personal biography similar to that of "most" of our American scientists?

IN THE matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer, as investigated and certified by the Personnel Security Board of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (which MERCURY readers can obtain in full-findings from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.) Oppenheimer was found guilty of many immoral and questionable liabilities to the people of the United States, among them: long associations with known Communists; entertaining known Communists; contributing money to known Communists' projects; subscribing to Communist publications; contributing annually to Communist funds used in an attempt to overthrow the Spanish Republican Government—more than $500.00 a year in cash rather than checks; attending Communist parties with

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Communist espionage agents of the Soviet Government; lying to U.S. intelligence investigators; attending a closed meeting of the professional section of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., held in his California residence where he engaged in a discussion of a change in Communist Party policy; lying to FBI investigators; contributing $150 a month to the Communist Party of San Francisco—up to the moment he officially began his appointment in the atomic bomb project.

This is only a condensed sampling of the *dossier* on J. Robert Oppenheimer, the man whom Eleanor Roosevelt, again and again and again, has been trying to fool the American people about—to get him back into contact with our atomic, hydrogen and missile secrets.

Would *you* trust him, or have trusted him with the most precious secrets of our Republic?

LET'S KEEP our eyes on the people who try, cleverly they think, to promote him, into our respect and confidence.—*The Editors.*

This overemphasis on science and this insistence on a shortage of scientists, which is probably not real, are disturbing. They strengthen the impression that these *plausible* explanations are given us to hide more important explanations which we are not supposed to see . . . Minor officials in the Budget Bureau told the military services they could not spend money for missiles which Congress had appropriated. *Is the Budget Bureau above Congress?* Again, some one down the line in the Budget Bureau decided no overtime would be paid on work for the missiles project. —SENATOR WILLIAM E. JENNER

Sharing Our *Science*

Theoretically, the Eisenhower-endorsed Atomic Energy plan could be used to set up big and little atomic powers throughout the world. Mr. Strauss has said this is not the administration's intention, but the law which Chairman Strauss proposed to Congress says:

"The President *may* authorize the commission . . . to transfer by sale, lease, loan or donation to that nation . . . special nuclear material for . . . production of, or use in atomic weapons or utilization facilities for military applications . . . *whenever the President determines* that the . . . transfer . . . will not constitute an unreasonable risk . . . while such other nation is participating with the U.S. pursuant to *an international arrangement* by substantial and material contributions to the mutual defense and security . . ."

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OIL—and the DARDANELLES

by Charles Wellington Furlong

EDITOR'S NOTE: *For nearly half a century Colonel Furlong has been a leading American protagonist for Turkey and its people.*

His is a long-held belief in Turkey's renaissance.

His consistent contention of the increasingly vital importance of the Zone of the Straits, of Turkey's determination to defend them, and the fulfillment of his prediction that they are Russia's main geo-political goal, are now being substantiated.

He served as an intelligence officer in the Balkans, Turkey and the Middle East.

TURKEY still stands astride the Dardanelles as guardian of the world's most vital waterway and gateway of three continents. In World War I, Turkey proved her ability to prevent Allied ships from getting into the Black Sea, as well as Russian ships from getting out of it. Turkey's importance as an ally, in the event of war between Soviet and the NATO powers, is obvious. Control of the Dardanelles by Russia could prevent entrance into the Black Sea and all surface threats of attack against the Soviet economic heartland to its north. It would also permit the

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egress and deployment of Soviet naval strength into the Mediterranean from her Black Sea naval bases of Odessa, Sevastopol and Batum.

Here lie the vast wheat and pastoral areas of the Ukraine and Crimea, the great coal and industrial areas of the Donetz central area and, farther east, the Soviet oil wells of Grozny and Baku. If this area could be laid waste by direct military air and amphibious attack—there would quickly follow a military disaster for the Soviets.

For centuries Russia's primary objective has been control of the Dardanelles. The road block has been Turkey at the Straits.

Russia is vast. The Soviets conceive vast objectives, are willing to take long periods of time in their attainment. Fifty years is but a day in the Soviet vision. Expanding from Muscovy, the Muskoflars (Russians) took 300 years to push the Turks south of the Black Sea. But the closing days of World War II saw victorious American forces restrained under leash by our own government, in Western Germany, while Russian forces were allowed to overrun Eastern European nations and moved in the Soviet frontier to the Bulgar-Turkish border, within 50 miles of Istanbul.

Today, Soviet intrigue in Syria sees Soviet military aid and supplies poised on Turkey's southern and most weakly defended border. Soviet troops, if brought there, would place Communist military forces on every one of Turkey's borders with the exception of her outer seacoasts, and these could be threatened by Russia's naval forces. This would result in the complete military envelopment of Turkey.

Development of the Middle East oil fields has intensified the Kremlin's desires to occupy this area, so control of the Dardanelles and the Middle East oil fields is now inextricably interwoven in Soviet international policy. To secure a hold on this oil she must secure control of the Turkish Straits.

THE Soviet's present plan is to capitalize on Arab discontent and resentment—because of the United Nations sell-out and partitioning of defenseless Palestine in which the Soviets cleverly concurred; then, under the guise of defender of Egypt and Syria, send in Russian troops.

Without all-out NATO support Turkey could not withstand a massive attack on all fronts by Russia.

Napoleon once said, "He who controls Constantinople (Istanbul) controls the world." Notwithstanding the development of air power and nuclear weapons, this statement still holds.

Turkey's geographical location places her in a key position strategically. But a second factor, equally important, is the psychological make-up of the Turks themselves: Turkey's integrity as a vital ally

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and her sincere *faith in* and *friendship for America.* The Turks have the qualities and character of an adamant, freedom-loving people, the same brave and indomitable qualities of the Hungarians and Finns, to whom the Turks are ethnically related.

To the Turks, threats by Russia are all an old story. They are neither blind to nor afraid of Russia's latest, blatant threat of war, Turks refuse to be *sputnicked.* The United States—and the whole American Hemisphere—*must* stand unreserved with valiant Turkey.

WE MUST not only warn the Kremlin "This far and no farther," but *we must mean it.*

Defeat OTC and GATT!

Whereas the Congress of the United States and not the State Department is specified in the Constitution as the branch of the Government that is to regulate our foreign commerce and to control the tariff;

Whereas Congress is responsible to the people who elect its Members while the State Department is not;

Whereas the proposal to make the United States a member of the OTC (Organization for Trade Cooperation) which would have headquarters in Geneva and in which the United States would have but *1 vote in 35,* is now before Congress in the form of H.R.6630;

Whereas congressional approval of OTC membership would underwrite or confirm the loss by Congress of its power over tariffs and trade and lodge such authority in an international body, thus destroying all hope of recapture of its power by Congress:

Therefore be it

Resolved:

1. That the International Brotherhood of Operative Potters in convention assembled, condemn severely the administration of our trade and tariff laws under State Department domination;

2. That we call for the restoration of the *regulation of our foreign commerce to the hands of Congress,* where it belongs and from which it should not have been removed;

3. That we call for the defeat of H.R.6630 or OTC membership bill; and

4. That the officers of the brotherhood disseminate copies of this resolution to the membership of the House Committee on Ways and Means and the Senate Finance Committee of the United States Congress; to President George Meany of the AFL-CIO, and to the heads of the legislative and the industrial union departments of the same body.

—Placed in the Congressional Record by
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS (Ohio)

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THE BOOK SHELF

The Testament of a Useful American

No Wonder We Are Losing. By Robert Morris. The Bookmailer, New York. 230 pp. $2.50.

Robert morris is that rare phenomenon in our Government—the specialist who really knows his subject. That subject is Communist subversion. For 18 years, in various useful capacities, as assistant counsel to the Rapp-Coudert Committee in New York State, as a Naval Intelligence Officer, as the first Psychological Warfare Officer in the Pacific Area, as Counsel for the Republican members of the Tydings Committee, as counsel for the McCarran and Jenner Committees, and finally as current counsel for the Eastland Committee, Judge Morris has had profound experience in unmasking Communists and their double-talk. Although the average layman is better acquainted with some of the more sensational names in this field, it is the quiet, laborious prodding and research of such men as Morris that has made possible the most notable successes of the Congressional Committees in this baffling field.

Upon first glance, the reader will feel that he is about to encounter simply another book on Communist investigations in a field which has been covered by Chambers, Matthews, Stripling, Budenz, Flynn, Massing and many others. But a closer reading will show that Morris' book is refreshingly different. It is the story behind the story of the investigations. It takes us behind the televised and familiar open hearings to the more important committee conferences and clashes of personality which produced the big shows. The reader is with Morris through all the vacillations and heart-searchings of exalted persons who have made their entrances and exits in the anti-Communist Washington fight of the last decade. No anti-Communist who wants to be truly informed should miss this little volume. In it he will find much which is the key to other books.

The author comes out of this book a full-bodied, fearless American in the best tradition of his country. The sheer importance of the events which he describes gives his chapters a life and a fascination which hold the reader to the end.

To Mr. Morris, the domestic fight against Communism transcends in importance any other domestic subject now before our nation. He is appalled at the apathy of the average American to this creeping peril. "Time is running out on us," he writes. "The nation is still not awake to the lateness of the hour, nor to the proximity of the peril."

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It is reassuring that, in such a national mood of complacence, this hard-hitting book by Morris, our nation's No. 1 investigator, should now be on its way to best-sellerdom.—H. L. V.

LABOR UNION MONOPOLY. By Donald R. Richberg. Henry Regnery Co., Chicago. 175 pp. $3.50.

IN A RECENT article in the MERCURY Senator Knowland warned the American people to be on guard against the growing menace of monopolistic labor-union power. Maintaining that *compulsory* unionism denies the worker a freedom of choice and that "our *right* of employment is a basic civil right of the first magnitude," he proved himself to be a statesman of estimable courage and integrity. He expressed, too, the fears of every responsible and decent-minded citizen when he said: "No group in industry or in labor should have the power to strangle the economic life of 170,000,000 people . . . be above the law, or be given powers which no non-governmental agency should have."

In his alarming book Mr. Richberg, a prominent lawyer and co-author of the famed Railway Labor Act of 1926 and the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, tells the "inside" story of labor monopolies. It is a grimly edifying work; for Mr. Richberg has been a lifetime defender of the legitimate rights of labor and writes from personal experience. The authoritative note behind this exposé leaves the reader with no doubt that many of the fine traditions of trade unionism in this country have been swept aside by labor racketeers. In many instances collective bargaining has now degenerated into "collective coercion."

Mr. Richberg informs us that the American people have been, and still are, blissfully unaware of what has been going on during the last quarter-century. While they were keeping vigilant guard against the formation of business monopolies, apparently numerous labor union monopolies were established behind their backs. Richberg believes that labor has now gained formidable political controls; that, in fact, the labor movement has become a tyrannical political force "with the objective of establishing a socialist labor government." This transformation from a movement of workers banded together to protect their legitimate interests has been deliberate, says the author; it was brought about largely by leaders who were political reformers rather than working-class representatives.

One thing Mr. Richberg makes very clear: the late American labor leader, Samuel Gompers, would have abhorred compulsory unionism and the dictatorial powers the labor unions now wield over our national economy.

This would be a valuable work if solely for the light that it throws on the historical processes through which labor monopoly has come about. The first part of the book deals with the story of the political progress of labor unions in their influence over legislative, executive, and judicial officials. The account is never dull; and in the chapter, *The Radical Influence of the*

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CIO, Mr. Richberg furnishes us with highly stimulating, if most damaging, evidence against labor's left-wing pressure groups. The second part shows how the fully developed labor monopolies operate today—as powers engaged in a legalized civil war endangering the basic structure of our free society. And though the danger is real, it is not, the author reminds us, without remedy.

Moreover, Mr. Richberg feels that "these evils will not be remedied until an overwhelming majority of free citizens realize that labor's economic monopoly and political power are preparing the way for communism far more effectively than the communists themselves." His informative book certainly should help to awaken the public to these grave dangers.—RICHARD MCLAUGHLIN

I WAS A SLAVE IN RUSSIA. By John Noble. Devin-Adair Company, New York. 184 pp. $3.75.

MANY OF US have heard of Vorkuta, Russia's notorious forced labor camp in the Urals, far above the Arctic Circle, but few of us realized before Mr. Noble wrote his book that Americans are buried there. The author reveals the appalling fact that five Americans were in Vorkuta during his years of confinement. When Noble was released in 1954, after nine years of imprisonment in various Soviet prison camps, he brought out a story which all truth-facing Americans should read.

As a starter, we recommend it as "must" reading to Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam and the Rev. Dr. John A. Mackie who have uttered so much drooling talk about coexistence and American friendship for Russia.

American readers have been so saturated by horror books about Hitler's Buchenwald and Dachau, that, for the sake of the record, it should be pointed out that, according to this eye-witness, Soviet Russia is continuing and exceeding Nazi Germany's worst excesses. Mr. Noble was a prisoner in Buchenwald, not under Hitler but under Stalin. He writes: "Buchenwald had been branded as a virtual Nazi abattoir, yet, from prisoners who had been in the camp under BOTH the Nazis and the Communists, I heard repeatedly that things were even worse now."

The author explains the psychological difference between the Nazi killings and the Russian. "The Nazis," he writes, "killed viciously because they were convinced that the people being killed were actually their enemies. The Russians killed because, almost literally, a number had been drawn from a hat, because some meaningless document in some meaningless proceedings had said to snuff out the candle. No ferocity attended the executions. The reasons for the killings were as remote and irrelevant to the Russian guards as was the concept of death itself." It was this numb impersonality about Communist cruelty which horrified the author during his years of suffering.

That the Russians have practiced genocide as mercilessly as did Hitler in his most arrogant days is revealed by the author in his story of the Kalmucks. He met a few surviving

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subjects of the former Kalmuck Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in the mines of Vorkuta. In 1943, when the Kalmucks refused to fight for Stalin, their "Republic" was wiped out and the whole population of 250,000, with scattered exceptions, was butchered. We have an organized and extremely active anti-genocide treaty movement in the United States, including such people as Mrs. Roosevelt, but we fail to recall any effort by this movement to call Russia to account for its slaughter of the Kalmucks. With our "liberal" bleeding hearts it appears to make an important difference who is being destroyed by whom.

One of the inhuman things which the author reveals about Russian penal practices is the role which the professional criminals, or *blatnois*, play in disciplining the political prisoners. The *blatnois* are the favored prisoners in every camp, who are encouraged to assist the guards in terrorizing the politicals. At Vorkuta, the *blatnois* did no work. They were permitted to rob, torture and even murder the political prisoners without punishment. Men of culture and former high standing in the Soviet regime were turned over to the brutalities of these sub-men.

Mr. Noble tells the story of the spontaneous strike which swept through the 100,000 slaves at Vorkuta in 1953, after the execution of Beria. The officialdom at Vorkuta were mostly Beria men, and the slaves took advantage of the dazed confusion of their guards after the fall of their chief to stop work. The attempt was doomed to fail, but it was an ominous reminder to Moscow bureaucrats that Russians could revolt.

Few men have lived through such an experience to return to the free world and tell their story. Mr. Noble's book is horrifying but gripping reading. Its wide circulation would be a needed antidote to the current softness among some Americans toward Russia.—H.L.V.

Myrdal, the Swedish Carpetbagger

GUNNAR MYRDAL'S *An American Dilemma* was used by the Supreme Court to "amply support" its modernization of the Constitution of the United States on May 17, 1954, in its edict that Negro children cannot get education free of complexes except in the presence of white children.

This Myrdal will bear closer study. He referred to the U.S. Constitution as "in many respects impractical and ill-suited to modern conditions." Myrdal is one of the star pitchers of the United Nations economic commission . . . long sympatico with Russia. As Sweden's minister of trade some 10 years ago, the Chicago *Tribune* reported, he negotiated a trade agreement between Sweden and Russia which provided for a large loan and trade advantages to the Communists. The deal was so unpopular in Sweden that he was driven from office. When the economic committee for Europe was being organized in the

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UN, Russia agreed to participate in it only on condition that Myrdal be made executive secretary.

In the integration edict the Supreme Court said, speaking of Negro school children: "To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

The Court went on to say one paragraph later, "Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of Plessy v. Ferguson, this finding is amply supported by modern authority[11]." The "11" footnote listed a number of "modern authorities" (quite a few on federal subversive lists) and ended "And see generally Myrdal, *An American Dilemma.*"

The chances are that with such credentials, accepted at the highest bench and assemblage of nations, Myrdal will keep pecking at us, at our way of life, and the horn of plenty that we have "developed."

It is to be wondered if the Supreme Court knew of Myrdal's record with the Russian Communists when they held him up as authority for radically changing the Constitution of the United States. Does it require much knowledge of sociology to size up a man whom the Communists insisted be placed as chairman of the United Nations economic committee for Europe?

Not much imagination is needed to see that such a man as Myrdal would not wish governmental control in our country left in the hands of the states, as laid down by the Constitution.

—GARLAND B. PORTER
Southern Advertising & Publishing

The Reward

The great obelisk in St. Peter's Square was brought from Egypt to Rome by Caligula and set up, by him, in the Vatican Circus. It has no heiroglyphics.

Under Pope Sixtus V, it was removed on rollers and erected in its present position. It weighs 320 tons. Sufficient allowance for this great weight had not been made in the design of the rope erection rigging. At a critical moment, though silence had been imposed under pain of death, one of the workmen, a sailor familiar with rigging rope, saw one of the ropes beginning to fray, and he called out, "Throw water on the ropes." This stopped the ravelling and the obelisk was safely erected.

When the Pope learned the whole story, and that this disobedience of orders had saved the obelisk from destruction, he called the workman before him and as a reward granted his relatives in perpetuity the privilege of living on the roof of St. Peter's. There to this day will be found small homes built in between the buttresses of the small dome over the chapels, with curtains at the windows and geraniums on the window-sills.

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THE COLLEGE FORUM

Again we beg patience of the many college undergraduates who have sent COLLEGE FORUM interesting and important short letters. The long letter we herewith publish seems exceptionally vital to us—and to our Republic. We hope each MERCURY *reader will read it with great care and thought, and tell other Patriots about its contents. On our part we are making certain that every Senator and Congressman in our nation's Capitol receives a copy of it.*

The alumni of our once great universities who are now owners and directors of our native, private American industries had better read it with special attention. Aneurin Bevan thinks *he will soon come up out of Britain's shadow cabinet and get a Socialist control of the British Government.*

Sir: The Foreign Secretary of the British Labor Party's shadow cabinet, The Right Honorable Aneurin Bevan, M.P., as they describe him in England, made his first speech in this country at the Johns Hopkins University. Since Mr. Bevan might at any time move into high office in his country by a change of party control, what he had to say—and sell—to Americans may be of considerable importance both in and out of our colleges.

We are, Aneurin Bevan explained to us at Johns Hopkins, in a period of history without parallel in the past. "This is the novelty of the situation," he told us. "The world has been divided many times before. But now the timeworn methods of settling disputes can lead only to universal destruction. Hence *I* went to the Communist countries to see if there were any forces at work there that offered any hope to the world."

There is no use turning to history for any guidance, Mr. Bevan warned us. It is a situation that fills him with deep foreboding. The old concepts of power, he warned, are utterly changed, the old methods of arbitration are no longer applicable; war, which used to solve problems in a rough and ready, even if imperfect, fashion is now *unthinkable*. War today, he frightened us, means only the extinction of both self and adversary.

It was, to this listener, curious that he stated flatly that we Americans had been listening too much to our Generals "whose business it is to frighten you." His own message was that, from fear of war, we *must* negotiate with the Kremlin.

Our salvation, he promised us at Johns Hopkins, lies in Russia. The growing educated class he saw there is a "new force," compelling a shift in the Russian political structure. The inevitable result of a Soviet educated class, he lectured, is the development "of more democratic forms." The growing complexity of Russian society makes personal dictatorship no longer obtainable; the development, he prophesied, is toward collective leadership.

We Americans, Mr. Bevan told us,

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have failed to appreciate these changing forces because we have "isolated" Russia, and listened only to "scare psychology," generated by our Generals. It is imperative, he warned, that we and the Russians—and the Peiping Chinese—get to know each other better, through a much greater exchange of visiting scientists, scholars, doctors, engineers, and so forth. We *must,* at all costs, he warned, prevent an explosion; we must, therefore, deal "reasonably" with the Russians; we must get to know them and get them to know us. Then the degree of "mutual interest" will be apparent to both sides.

In a brief question and answer period, the first topic was the Middle East. Aneurin Bevan suggested that we accept the Russian's "reasonable and sensible offer" that both sides cease to ship arms into the area—and that we "recognize" Russia's "legitimate interests" in the area by admitting them to all discussions and settlements in the area. For the Arab-Israeli problem he suggested that the powers, including the Russians, "guarantee" the boundaries, take care of the Arab refugee problem and that we come forth with plans for the "self development" of this potentially very rich area. By his prescription Russia would, of course, be included in all such plans.

He then used questions on Asia to urge recognition of the Red Chinese. His reasons, reduced to their simplest, were that failure on our part to do so only drove China "deeper into Russia's arms."

Aneurin Bevan's talk, I observed, sounded quite rational to many listeners. He carried his Johns Hopkins University audience with him, sweeping them along with bursts of laughter—often at our American expense. It was a mixed audience, composed of many townspeople and girls from Goucher College as well as a representative sampling of our own faculty and student body. They thought Mr. Bevan not only amusing and very clever, but quickly convincing.

I dissent.

Aneurin Bevan hardly ever mentioned Communism. He *never* mentioned that the "old methods" of civilized arbitration were no longer applicable—because of the Kremlin's dishonesty. At the end of his speech his primary urge was that we negotiate—but any serious student of recent history, I thought as I listened to him, would realize that the past failures of arbitration and negotiation were solely because we have to deal, now, not with "Russians" but with *amoral Soviet International Communism.* Mr. Bevan's strange desire to turn his and our backs on history is hardly helpful.

One may agree with Aneurin Bevan that the growing educated class in Soviet Russia is a new force. But whether this force is to end the Kremlin's personal dictatorship, or move into a collective leadership, is slightly aside from the major issue: Is this new *Soviet* force—of educated International Communists—going to end International Communism? Or will they make it more dangerous for us? We have only to observe some of our own "intellectuals" on and off our campuses.

Should we, with any safety, conclude—as Mr. Bevan would have us—that a growing "complexity" of

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Soviet society leads to *less* dictatorship, either by an individual or by an elite group? Did Rome start with dictatorship and, as it became complex, evolve into democracy? It did not. Is the trend now, in even more complex America, toward greater democracy—or toward *decreasing individual liberty?* It is unfortunate that Mr. Bevan is uncomfortable in history, and perhaps not too familiar with trends in the Soviet Union. But what about Britain; does Aneurin Bevan, who certainly should know England, think British Socialism, *Fabianism,* gives increasing individual liberty (democracy) to the English people, or is it not a *limiting* force? Aneurin Bevan, alas, would probably say that British Socialism is "libertarian."

England's Bevan, I observed, is capable of incredible, and at times contradictory, statements. He stated flatly that the church and state were "intertwined in Russia"; that to attack the one was to attack the other; that the reformation had not yet come to Russia, but that it is "on its way." Is this the talk of a madman—or is it the prelude to a still greater martydom for the church in Soviet Russia?

Mr. Bevan at one point exclaimed to us as if we were guilty: *"It is no longer possible nowadays, thank God, for one nation to impose its will on another!"*

That such a statement could be made by a major statesman of the West in a presumably serious speech, before a supposedly highly educated audience, is truly alarming; that the Johns Hopkins audience took it without so much as a murmur is perhaps even greater evidence of our dangers.

Mr. Bevan is a mass of contradictions. The realities of the world are apparently not allowed to interfere with his message or political oratory: We should recognize Red China! We only fail to do so because of our "silly" emotions. We emotional Americans (not *moral* Americans) urge that Red China not be recognized merely because the Red Chinese shot our men—yet, Mr. Bevan pointed out, we urge Britain to arm with Germans who only recently were shooting the British. Under cover of Mr. Bevan's propaganda the fact that the Peiping Chinese are now in the *International* Communist camp, and the West Germans are in ours, seems to disappear.

Instead, the audience was propelled into roars of pro-Bevan laughter by such droll questions from him as: *"Some* Americans say that the formation of the Chinese Government was *irregular;* I wonder just what the

A Georgetown University survey of 500 leading inventors discloses that they dislike dealing with the bureaucracy. Thirty-eight percent said they had refrained from bringing devices possibly useful in defense to the attention of the Government for these reasons: (a) insufficient pay for their inventions; (b) too much red tape; (c) antagonism from Government administrators; (d) denial of invention rights.

—From *Human Events*

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Daughters of the American Revolution would say to that?"

Under the cover of this burst of laughter, the question of just what good—to Britain or the free world of today—Britain's precipitous recognition of the Communist Chinese mainland murderous regime has achieved for anti-Communists was neither asked nor answered.

In short, Aneurin Bevan—who may well take over the government of the British Isles in time—does not mention, ever, International Communism or the Soviet Union, or the Kremlin; only "the Russians." He deplores the impossibility of arbitration, but urges the necessity of inviting the Soviet regime into the negotiation of such already complex problems as those made for us in the Middle East —by the Kremlin. The dismal succession of broken Soviet treaties and pledged agreements in the post-war period are, by Aneurin Bevan, conveniently forgotten. The "Russians" are fine people, he insists, and all we need is mutual "Friendships" and understanding. Russia's "reasonable" suggestions on the Middle East should be accepted. Not one word, from Mr. Bevan, about atheistic International Communism! I can only hope that Mr. Bevan's future audiences, in America or in England, will listen more critically than his admirers at Johns Hopkins seemed able to.

As a Professor of Geography *and* an Anthropologist, I came away from Mr. Bevan with a chill feeling of doom, that Britain's shadow cabinet had a skeleton in its closet.

GEORGE F. CARTER, A.B., Ph.D.,
Professor of Geography,
Johns Hopkins University.

That such a letter as the above could come from Johns Hopkins University, where Milton Eisenhower has been put in academic and political control—where the notorious Owen Lattimore of the treacherous Institute of Pacific Relations which sold our State Department on the ideology of turning over China to Communism *still* is an exalted Professor—seemed impossible to us. So we made a hasty trip to Baltimore. There we found that a man and a Professor of Geography named George Carter does actually exist, a very quiet, long observant scholar who has been able to hold on to his very distinguished position as Chairman of the *Isaiah Bowman School of Geography;* a great American geographical scholar and a great American Patriot! *God doth wonderful miracles provide.*

Selected for this academic job by Isaiah Bowman—who never gave a fraction of an inch to Communism or Socialism—Professor Carter has been so quiet on the Johns Hopkins campus that very few Americans know of him. His credits are too long, over the last 24 years, for us to list here; but we are fortunate in being able to give Mercury readers not only this College Forum letter in May but a most unusual article from his brilliant mind in the forthcoming June MERCURY—which he has been at work on for a long time.

In Baltimore we picked up additional intelligence, from informed sources observant of things at Johns Hopkins; that the skids are

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greased for Professor Carter, now with Milton Eisenhower's help—from the White House; that the Bevan lecture was promoted by an endowment of George Huntington Williams, Professor of Geography at Johns Hopkins from 1883 to 1894, a great Maryland and American Patriot of that time; that the Williams descendants were highly embittered at their endowment being used for publicizing Aneurin Bevan's propaganda; and that the famed Isaiah Bowman School of Geography, of which Baltimore was justly proud, is no longer to be in existence. Substitutions of "academic reorganizations" are being made, under Milton Eisenhower, through which a new, waiting *claque* of internationist "geographers" are to be given top rank and, through a New York foundation's tax exempt money, a national build-up. Well, we shall see . . . —ED.

When I was in high school, every incentive was given the exceptional student to forge ahead of his fellows. My parents regularly received a report card showing the grades I had attained in the courses which constituted a basic education.

They were also apprised of my performance in competition with my classmates. In more recent years our educational system has been greatly influenced by those who profess a belief in so-called "progressive" education.

They regard marks and competitive grades as undemocratic. It is little wonder that our colleges and engineering schools have found it difficult to maintain high professional standards under such conditions.

—SENATOR JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER of Maryland

Deadly Disraeli

English politics of many years ago produced several of the greatest orators of all times. During a rather hectic political campaign Gladstone, a renowned orator of the day, and Disraeli, counselor to crowned heads, found themselves, as usual, on different sides of the controversy. They were always at each others throats and did not pull punches when it came to criticizing one another. During one very heated exchange Gladstone seemed to be getting the better of the argument.

The question came up as to the meaning of the words "accident" and "disaster."

Immediately Disraeli was on his feet observing drily, "I can answer that very easily—if the Honorable Mr. Gladstone fell into the River Thames and was drowning that would be an accident—if anyone were foolish enough to try and save him, that would be a disaster." —GENE BERARD

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THE MERCURY FORUM

Sir: The thing I'd like to see in "Brotherhood" is more of brother and much less of hood.

WILLIAM MANNING
Neshanic, New Jersey

Sir: I am very much in favor of improving and beautifying our own Planet, before attempting to cruise into the unknown Universe.

FRANK D. STEINER
Moraga, California

Sir: Your February article on "The Girl Who Outrode Paul Revere" makes me wonder why some American Legion Post does not give itself the task of building a memorial monument over the ancient tomb of this valiant girl. Few people know of this twelve year old American heroine, Sybil Ludington of Ludingtonville, New York.

CARL S. HARRIS
Macoun Saskatchewan, Canada

Sir: This is my plight: this Spring must I plant my white and black peas together in one row or can I separate them, white in one row, black in another? I have white and black cattle; do I have to fence them in together? My worst problem is that I have black hens that lay white eggs; must I dye these eggs black before I can market them? What do I do about my white coon dog that won't hunt beside my black bird dog? Am I in danger of federal airborne troops swarming down on my beaten-up acres? *Please* rush me the "new" words to the *"Star Spangled Banner"*, so I can learn them; I'm trying as hard as I can to forget the words of our *"Old Black Joe."*

HAROLD MAXWELL
Wynne, Arkansas

Sir: The AMERICAN MERCURY is a wonderful and interesting magazine. The article which interested me the most was the one on the expected population of the world by the year 2000 A.D. Perhaps Malthus was not too wrong when, over a century ago, he wrote that the world population increased more rapidly than the production of the food supply. However, by that time we may have colonies on Mars.

Sincerely yours,
RICHARD AMADUCCI
Long Island Hospital
Boston, Massachusetts

Sir: As a Latvian and a faithful reader of the AMERICAN MERCURY, I compliment you on the timely and courageous February article "Communism Has No Nationality." More power and more readers to you. The MERCURY is performing a *very necessary* task, not yet understood by many a million wishful thinkers and naive lovers of co-existence with the Red Tyrants.

IMANTS BALODIS
Chicago, Illinois

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Adding to our native American correspondents and their acclaim, we value highly such messages from men and women who have come to our land from communist threatened Europe—they know by experience how right our facts—and 1958 warnings are.—ED.

Sir: It is reported that President Eisenhower has agreed to a second large reduction in the National Guard. This is depriving our state citizens of their protection against internal Communist enemies who are being trained *in each state* to take over, when the Kremlin, or some Dictator in Washington, gives the signal. It is especially dangerous now that the Supreme Court is setting Fifth Amendment Communists free as fast as our Congressional Committees and the FBI round them up and indict them.

GRACE BACON
Newtonville, Massachusetts

Sir: It is getting increasingly difficult to buy the AMERICAN MERCURY on the newstands. Keep up your good subscription work!

MARTHA STEVENS
Battle Creek, Michigan

A ray of American sunshine is coming through the alien clouds, Miss Martha. Maybe our Congress is afraid to spread on the public record the facts of how our interstate magazine commerce is becoming a monopoly of Manhattan censors, and how the statutes of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act are sneered at. But not some of our State Legislatures. In Georgia, for instance, on the eve of the opening of the Georgia State Legislature, not one copy of the February MERCURY could be found on any Atlanta newsstand. Why? Because we had been giving light to the hidden hands behind the debasement of our Supreme Court and the Manhattan cabal that uses the NAACP to turn American citizens against each other. A very patriotic Georgia lady became so mad about this that she telephoned us, ordered MERCURY magazines shipped to Atlanta by special truck so she could put a copy of the MERCURY on the desk of every Georgia legislator first thing that Monday morning.

Then, through aroused Georgians, the Georgia legislature got to work, with a special committee to look into the facts—in Georgia. The dealer who had tried to prevent the MERCURY from being displayed or sold on the Atlanta newsstands quickly saw *Patriotism at work.*

You nice people in Michigan are unfortunate. Your legislature is controlled by "Soapy" Williams and his boss, Walter Reuther. But Patriots of other States can take a leaf out of the Georgian's righteous anger and do something about it. Not just for the AMERICAN MERCURY, your favorite Christian magazine, but so you will not be censored, by anyone from Manhattan, from obtaining on your community newsstand any magazine you want. If the Manhattan cabal can prevent the MERCURY from being distributed in any state, they can prevent any other

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magazine or newspaper from being sold to you.—ED.

Gentlemen: I have been reading many magazines trying to find one which agrees with my way of thinking and gives me the factual ammunition for my arguments with internationalists. Your magazine is definitely what I have been looking for. My belief in States' Rights is very decided.

MRS. J. W. LANDERS
Temple, Texas

Sir: We are giving our son the AMERICAN MERCURY for a birthday present. Things look pretty dark for America to us who have searched for and found the truth as to what and who is behind the sinister force destroying our God-given liberties.

DRS. RAYMOND and
CHARLOTTE CLAYPOOL
Hopkins, Minnesota

Sir: In Detroit the union goons and dictators have enormous power. Please send me reprints on Reuther and Hoffa. Our City Councilmen are giving a banquet for Hoffa, making him into a hero. Such things really burn me up.

MRS. MARY KERIG
Detroit, Michigan

Sir: Please renew my subscription to the best publication of its kind in America today—and add these two new subscribers to your list also, as my gifts to them. Godspeed in your wonderful and inspiring work.

WILLIAM A. DUNCKLEE
Amityville, Long Island

Sir: My reading of the AMERICAN MERCURY has frequently turned up quotes which I can say "Amen" to.

ONA M. SPEED
Babbitt, Nevada

Sir: Does a leopard change it's spots? My answer is *yes!* Leopards have gotten into the Congress, the White House and the Supreme Court. Our people don't even know they are leopards—because they've taken on the disguise of loyal men. Keep on telling Americans to wake up, before it is too late.

JOHN YORK
Plains, Montana

Sir: A man I know went frequently to a doctor who, each visit, assured him he was improving. I learned suddenly that he had died. When I asked his wife what he had died of she said, "Jim died from improvements." Maybe the Federals are planning so much *"improvement"* for us that we'll perish as a Republic.

SAMUEL ROBBINS
New York City

Sir: Please let this gun lover congratulate you on your "Don't Let the Feds Take Your Gun From You," (February MERCURY). General MacArthur found our men in Korea often gun-shy. Our Republic was established with men with guns! Keep up the fight.

MARIO DE SOHUNI
Los Angeles, California

Sir: Sorry to say too many people in the United States simply do not believe what is happening to them. We are following the same historical pattern by which free governments,

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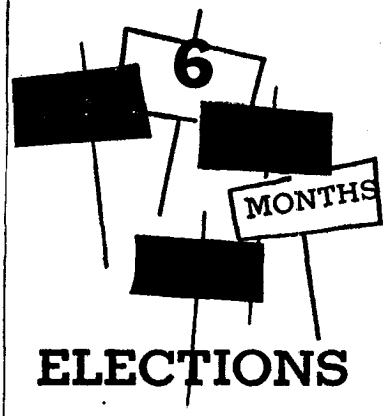

Between now and next Election Day let's keep alert for political bargains our Congressmen and Senators may agree to in Washington that are against our Republic's interest rather than adamantly pro-American. We hope there are none. But we know the planned enticements for their Capitol Hill votes. Let's make sure that our Washington sentinels who bargain away *their* votes in Congress do not get *our* votes next November. We are studying the Congressional Record and newspapers to see what our legislative representatives in Washington do *for* our Republic. Let Mercury know what you know about *your* Congressman or Senator, so Mercury readers can be better informed.

since 500 B.C., have destroyed themselves, but we have accelerated the pace; we shall achieve the end quicker. It seems that *no* people on this Earth are capable of self-government. What do you think?"

DOUBTFUL
Jamaica, New York

We think Plato-thoughts often, meanwhile yearning for modern American proof that people *can* abide with and in self-government, but knowing well that modern facts seem against us. Maybe, at the AMERICAN MERCURY, our hopes are greater than reality. We, too, have reasons at times to be momentarily pessimistic. But, suppose everybody in our land suddenly gave up and said to each other "It's useless!" We just won't permit any events to lead us permanently into that conclusion. We think something is going to happen, and maybe soon, which will prove the stamina of Americans, maybe in one great, loud, surge of national protest and, at last, house-cleaning.—ED.

Sir: You are a real fighting publication. It takes strong words to wake some people up to what's happening to them and arouse them into doing something about it.

MARY CHONGCHUA
Washington, D. C.

Dear Lady, if we were living in our grandfather's time we would be thinking only nice thoughts, and writing only happy opuses—odes of literature, perhaps, to a peaceful, safely secure, and smil-

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ing land. The enemies of our Republic and his state, grandfather thought—and rightly so then—were all overseas.

He never dreamed that our most dangerous enemies would be found, someday, within our national borders.

If we can live long enough—and fight hard enough—maybe a day will return to our Republic when we can write the things we'd like to write—if we were not in such immediate national and international danger.—ED.

Sir: The Decalogue contains 297 words; Lincoln used only 266 words for his Gettysburg Address; our Declaration of Independence has only 300 words. *But,* it takes 26,911 words for Uncle Screwball's little Washington "experts" to write the order to reduce the federal price of cabbage.

J. E. MCSWEENEY
West Bernard, Texas

Foreign Trade

A healthy exchange of goods and services between nations is highly desirable and is beneficial economically and politically to the nations involved. We believe that an active foreign trade, based on the principles of free enterprise, should be encouraged, but with due regard to the protection of our own national interests. We would look with concern on any legislative or administrative action which would tend to increase import competition with domestic perishables.

We look with suspicion on any transfer of authority over import regulations and tariffs by membership in any supra-national organization, such as the General Agreement on tariff and trade and the Organization for Trade Cooperation. We object to the constant interference of the United States Department of State in foreign trade matters. We believe that regulation of our foreign commerce is the constitutional obligation of the legislative branch of the Government, and we, therefore, favor exclusion of any executive department, including the President, from regulatory authority in the field of foreign trade.

Specifically, we favor return from the President to the Congress of the obligation to approve or disapprove all recommendations of the Tariff Commission made under the escape clause of the Trade Agreements Act. We recommend that the Congress establish explicit guidelines to govern decisions of the Tariff Commission with respect to import quotas and that such decisions of the Tariff Commission on import quotas shall be final and operating unless disapproved by Congress.

Our association must be vigilant to prevent unfair trade practices on the part of foreign competition, particularly in the field of perishable agricultural commodities, where questionable practices such as the absence or improper labeling of fruits and vegetables which are repacked can cause great damage to domestic producers in a very short time.

—VEGETABLE GROWERS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

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For MERCURY readers their June, 1958, issue will be a most vital one-magazine symposium of facts about the current, and past, U. S. Dollar. Like our morals, Christianity, and inherited precepts of government, our Dollar was attacked from without and within.

25 years ago, this June, our U. S. Dollar died. It was the world's best and most honored currency while it lived — struggling to be the American *People's Dollar* — from 1792 to 1933. What, and who, killed the U. S. Dollar we now *know*.

"THE DAY THE DOLLAR DIED" will be, we think, the most important article ever published in an uncensored American magazine. Make sure you read it, in the June issue of the AMERICAN MERCURY.

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A Vital Thought for the Easter Season, 1958

WHOM CHOOSE YE?

SCHOLARS agree that the word "believe," as used in the English language differs from the Aramaic meaning of the word, which is *"understand."* So when our Lord said "He that believeth on me the works that I do shall he do also" Christ meant "He that *understands* my teaching," with its practical application to the ills of humanity, *the works that I do shall he do also."*

Now here is a *daily* challenge to all of us who profess His Name and invoke His Power. Surely sin, disease, dishonest money and spiritual death are all degrees of evil. Christians must tackle *all* of them. Leadership by the vicars of Christ was never so desperately needed as now. And, speaking of "the ills of humanity," exhaustive research shows the number one ill to be USURY AND A DEBT MONEY SYSTEM.

Balzac said, "The final battle for Christianity will be over the Money problem, and until that is solved (understood) there can be no universal application of Christianity!"

Thousands of other thinkers agree with Balzac. The Christian Churches of England, after a careful study in 1923, made this wise and forthright demand: "That the Christian Church should recognize frankly, *and clearly expose,* such results of the present monetary system as appear harmful to human welfare; and should further declare that *any monetary system must have objectives in accord with Christian ethics."*

It is Christ or Anti-Christ. Remember the King of Kings said: "He that is not *with* me is *against* me: and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth." (St. Matthew 12:30) Are you with the Master and gathering? If not, you are scattering!

Once more the ancient cry goes up—"Whom Choose Ye?" You cannot wash your hands—nor whitewash your conscience. It is Christ or the Anti-Christ! *Whom choose Ye?*

—RUSSELL MAGUIRE

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